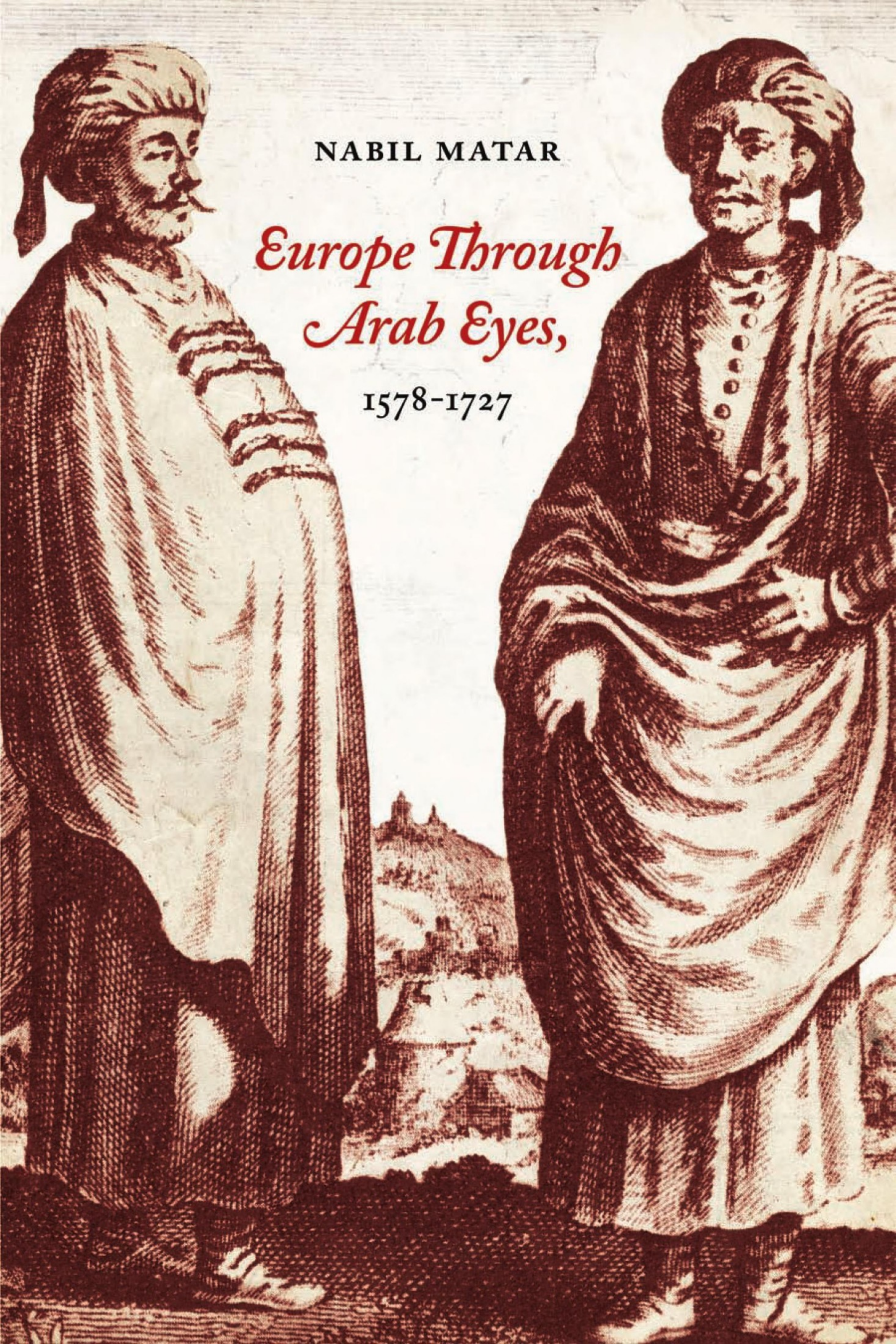

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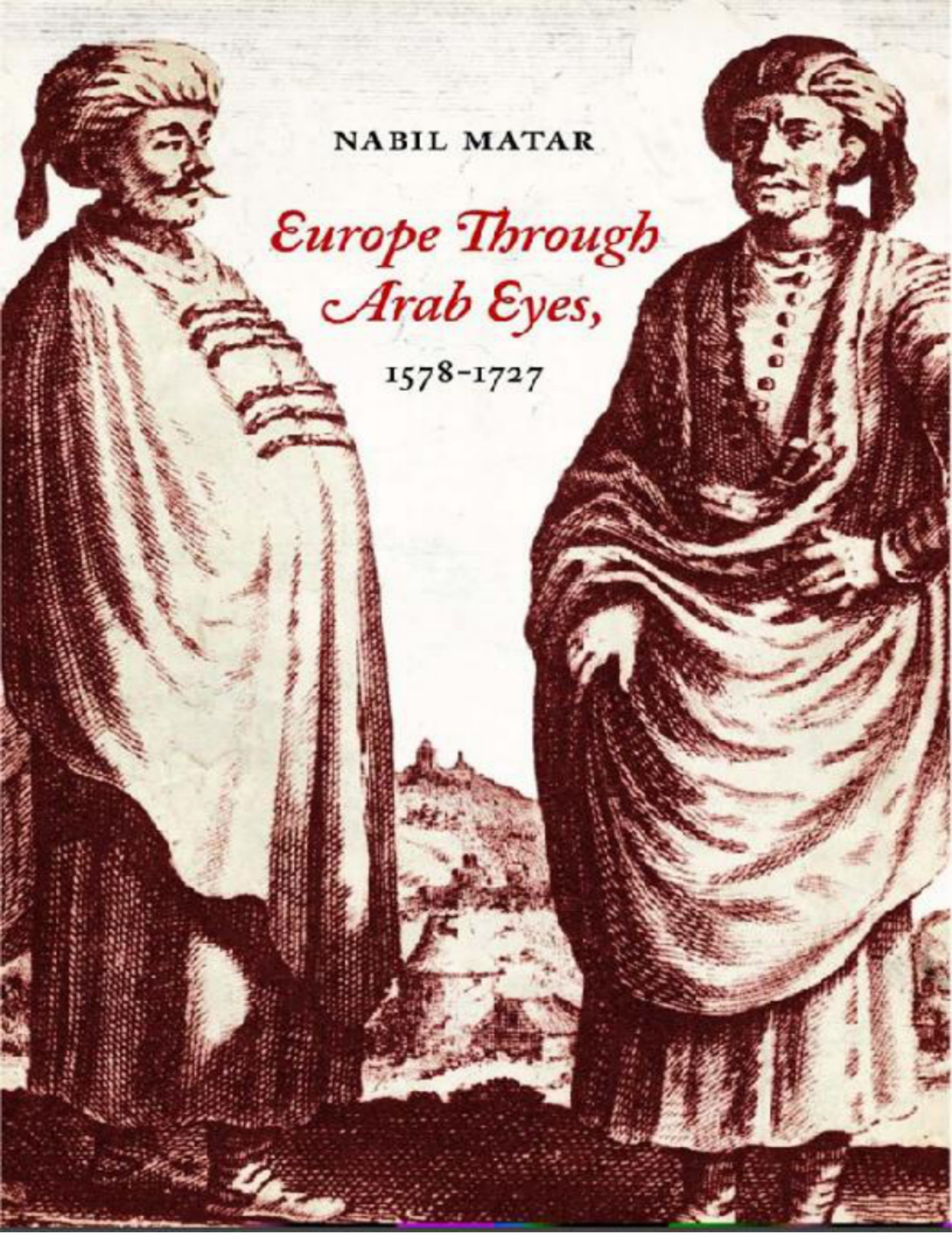

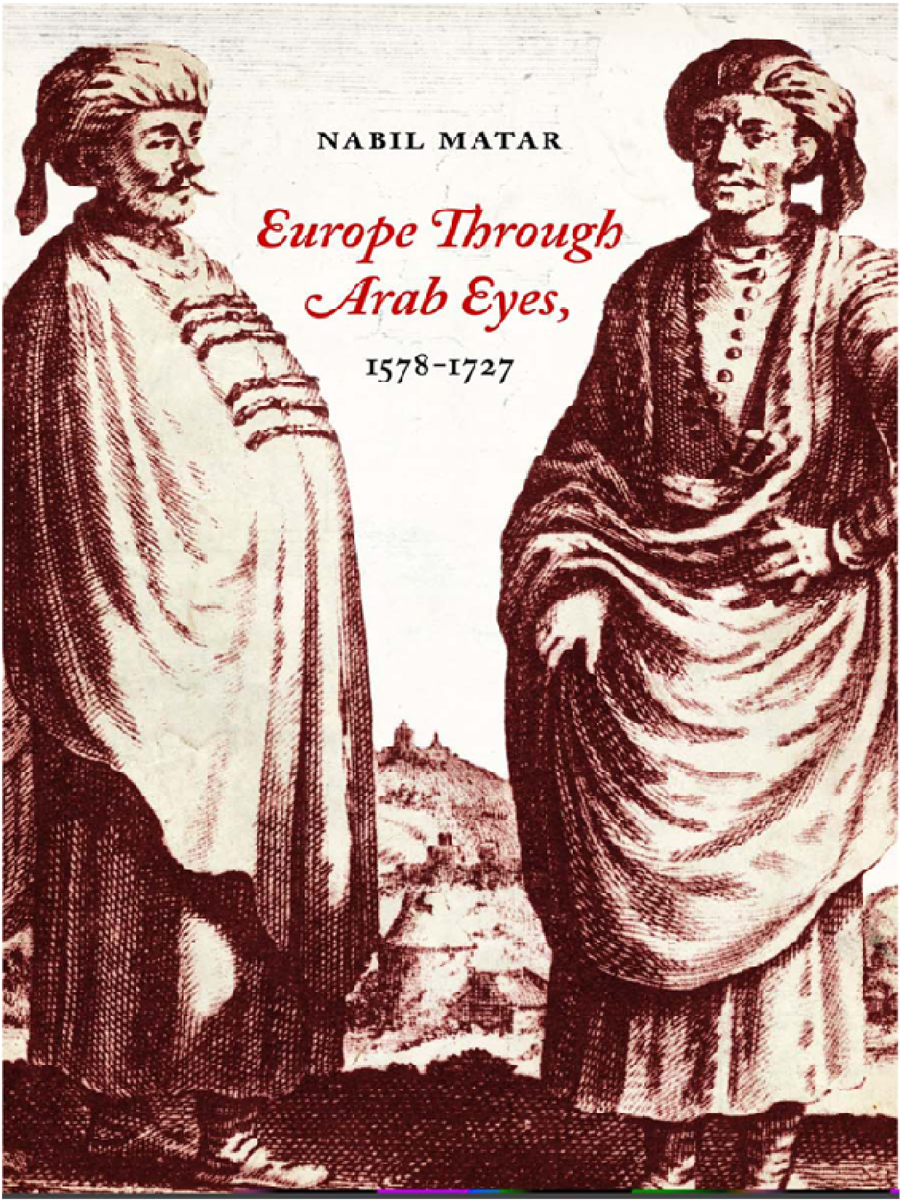

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EUROPE THROUGH ARAB EYES, 1578–1727

Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578–1727

Nabil Matar

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For Inaam

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2. After 1588: **Description of the Defeat of the Armada**, by Abu Faris ʿAbd al- ʿAzīz al-Fishtali, in *Rasa’il Saʿdiyah*, ed. ʿAbdallah Gannūn, 152–157.
3. ca. 1589–1591: **A Journey from Morocco to Istanbul and Back**, in Abu Hasan ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli Muhammad al-Tamjruti, *Al-Nafhah al-Miskiyah fī al-Safarah al-Turkiyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Latīf al-Shadhili, 28–29, 41–42, 65, 74–76, 84–86, 90–94, 128–132, 140–141.
4. After June 1596: **Description of the English Attack on Cadiz**, in Abu Faris ʿAbd al- ʿAzīz al-Fishtali, *Manahil al-Safa*’, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Karīm, 193–196.
5. 1613–1618: **Description of Pisa and Florence**, in *Lunban fī ʿAhd al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿni al-Thani*, ed. Asad Rustum and Fu’ad Afram al-Bustani, 208–224.
6. 1623: **Expulsion of the Moriscos and the Miraculous Ransoming of Muslim Captives**, in Al-Muntasir ibn Abi Lihya al-Qafsi, *Nūr al-Armash fī Manaqib al-Qashash*, ed. Lutfi ’Isa and Husayn Bujarrah, 138–141, 151–154.
7. 1633–1635: **Letters from Tunis by Osman/Thomas d’Arcos, a Convert to Islam**, *Les Correspondants de Peiresc: Lettres inédites publiées et annotées*, ed. Philippe Tamizey de Larroque, 2:23–28, 36–39. French original.
8. 1635: **Letter About Muslim Captives Converted to Christianity**, Rabat National Library, MS Jīm 223, 101–103.
9. 1635: **Expulsion of the Moriscos**, Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī‘ ibn Muhammad al-Andalusi, *Al-Anwar al-Nabawiyah fī Aba*’ *Khayr al-Bariyah*, in A. Turki, “Wathai’q al-Hijra al-Andalūsiyah al-Akhīrah,” *Hawliyat al-Jamiʿah al-Tunisiyah* 4 (1967): 27–39.
10. 1642: **Description of the World**, in Ahmad ibn Qasim, *Nasir al-Dīn ʿala al-Qawm al-Kafirīn*, ed. Muhammad Razzūq, 95–99.

11a. Before 1688: **Christian Attack on Jarbah (Tunisia) in 1510**, in Sulayman ibn Ahmad al-Hilati, *ʿUlama*’ *Jarbah*, ed. Muhammad Qawjah, 32–39.

11b. 1685: **Bombardment of Tripoli, Libya**, by the French Fleet, in

Ahmad ibn Khaled al-Nasiri, *Talʿat al-Mushtari*, 2:28–30.

12. 1681–1691: **Battle Accounts**, in *Taqayīd Tarīkhiyah*, Rabat Royal Library, MS 12352.

13. 1590–1654: **Euro-Tunisian Piracy**, in Ibn Abi Dinar, *Kitab al-Muʾnis fī Akhbar Ifrīqiyah wa-Tūnis*, 190–202.

14. Before September 2, 1706: **Letter of Mulay Ismaʿil to the English Parliament**, *Les Sources … Filalienne*, ed. Brissac, 6:349–354.

15. November 1, 1707: **Letter from a Captive in France**, ed. Jamal Vannan, *Nusūs wa Wathaʾiq fī Tarīkh al-Jazaʾir al-Hadīth* 1500–1830, 144–145.

16a. 1713: **Letters of Bentura de Zari, Moroccan Ambassador Under House Arrest in London**, National Archives, Kew, SP 71/16/63–65, 70–71. English original.

16b. January 12, 1717: **Letter of Mulay Ismaʿil to Philip V**, in Muhammad al-Saghīr al-Ifranī, *Rawdat al-Taʿrīf*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahab Benmansour, 133–134.

17. 1726–1727: **On Quinine**, in Husayn Khūjah, *Al-Asrar al-Kamīnah*, ed. al-Karray al-Qusantīni, 31–43.

18. Mid-eighteenth century: **Captivity in Malta**, in Abu al-Qasim al-Zayani, *Al-Tarjumanah al-Kubra*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Filali, 192–193.

19. 1782: Muhammad ibn ʿUthman al-Miknasi. **Falling in Love in Naples**, in *Al-Badr al-Safir li Hidayat al-Musafir ila Fikak al-Asara min Yad al-ʿAduww al-Kafir*. Rabat National Library, MS Ha 52, fols. 145–150.

20. 1798: **Letter from a Female Captive in Malta**, Muhammad Razzūq, *Dirasat fī Tarīkh al-Maghrib*, 178–181.

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Finally, as I was reaching the last stages of this book, I moved to the Department of English at the University of Minnesota. I have truly enjoyed the year I have been here and wish to thank interim dean James Parente, department chair Paula Rabinowitz, and former chair Michael Hancher for their warm welcome and support. In Minneapolis, I renewed my friendship with Wadad Qadi, of the University of Chicago, who had been a friend in Beirut and who continues to be a wonderful and inspiring scholar.

Although Rudy is gone, he remains an undying friend. With Camilla, who was ever at his side, I share memories of an unforgettable teacher and artist.

And to G., whose friendship was like the arms of God, how can I ever repay the debt of redeeming the child?

To my sons, Ibrahim, who is in his junior year at university, and Hady, a freshman: know that you are the right hand and the left hand of my life.

This book is dedicated to my sister, Dr. Inaam Matar. Although, I am told, she once pushed me off my pram in a fit of jealousy, she has remained a heroine in my eyes, notwithstanding the thousands of miles separating us. At the age of seventeen, Inaam rebelled against our parents, who wanted her to marry and settle down (Mother had even prepared the bridegroom), and went to the University of Erlangen in Germany to study medicine. She enjoyed many years of travel, love, and learning, inspiring in me, as we both were inspired by our father, the desire to see new lands and learn new languages.

Years later, with M.D. in hand, she arrived in Amman, Jordan, fleeing the horrors of Lebanon's war, and opened a small, leaking clinic in the Palestinian refugee camp of Baqʿa. Without a "tribe" around her, and despite cultural difference, she won the confidence of large numbers of patients, some of whom continue to seek her from far-off corners of the kingdom. Even in distant Jerash, when we had a flat tire, drivers who stopped to help immediately recognized the "Doctora." For thirty years, she has persevered in her work as the people around her have grown to admire her for her careful diagnosis and German-like planning—too much of the latter, I often hear them complain. She has combined compassion with discipline, and has worked tirelessly not only to treat illnesses but also to teach values: she has fought against disorder and superstition, argued defiantly against male chauvinists, and established a reputation for competence and reliability that no other female doctor in that vast camp of homelessness and exile has ever attained.

As she now approaches retirement, she leaves a successful and busy clinic. But Inaam has already started preparing for the future. She wants to perfect her French and Spanish and go back to her piano playing, while serving twice a week as a volunteer in a nearby hospital. Around her are the hospitable family of Dr. Raja'i Sweis, and the numerous Palestinian, Jordanian, Lebanese, and Indian friends of the Amman community.

But mostly, Inaam will be busy with her two cats—and excitedly talking about them.

Happy retirement, dearest sister.

N.M.
Melbourne and Minneapolis

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

There is no uniformity in transliterating Arabic in the catalogues of world libraries. Although the *Encyclopedia of Islam* has a standardized form of transliteration, it is not followed by library cataloguers, which creates enormous difficulty for researchers in locating particular authors or texts. I have therefore reproduced all names of Arabic authors and their titles in accordance with the HOLLIS catalogue at the Widener Library, Harvard University. Because HOLLIS is not consistent in transliteration, I have made emendations as I saw fit.

Please note that authors writing from a Francophone background sometimes spell the same name differently than do authors belonging to an Anglophone background.

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.

CHRONOLOGY

1415: Portuguese occupation of Ceuta (still in Spanish hands)
1471–1550: Portuguese occupation of Asila
1471–1684: Portuguese and British occupation of Tangier
1497–present: Spanish occupation of Melilla
1505–1541: Spanish occupation of Aghadir/Santa Cruz
1505–1541: Portuguese occupation of Asfi
1505–present: Spanish occupation of Badis
1509: Spanish occupation of Oran
1510: Spanish attack on Tripoli, Libya
1513–1541: Portuguese occupation of Azammur
1514–1769: Spanish occupation of Mazagan
1516–1520: Ottoman conquest of all North Africa, excluding Morocco
1518–1519: Capture of Hasan al-Wazan/Leo Africanus to Italy
1535: Spanish occupation of Tunis; French alliance with the Ottomans
1541: Failed Spanish attack on Algiers
1551: Darghūth Rayyes seizes Tripoli (Libya) for the Ottomans
1560: Madrid declared capital of Spain; beginning of the building of Escorial
1562–1595: Wars against Huguenots in France
1563: Establishment of the Church of England
1568–1571: Revolt of the Moriscos
1569: Ottomans capture Tunis
1571: Defeat of Ottoman fleet in Battle of Lepanto by a combined Spanish, Venetian, and Papal force
1572: Publication of Luis de Camõe’s *The Lusiads*, the first imperial epic in Europe
1572: Philip II prohibits Moriscos from using Arabic
1573: Spanish forces capture Tunis
1574: Expulsion of Spaniards from Tunis, which returns to Ottoman rule
1575: Completion of Tasso’s *Jerusalem Delivered*
1578: Battle of Wadi al-Makhazen in North West Morocco and accession of Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur to the throne
1580: Philip II assumes Portuguese throne and cedes all its colonies
1580–1581: Charter of the Turkey Company (England)
1581–1585: Peace negotiations between Spanish and Ottoman empires
1585: Charter of the Barbary Company (England)

1587: Beginning of the rule of the Pashas in Algeria
1588: Defeat of the Spanish Armada in the English Channel
1588: Don Antonio, claimant to the Portuguese throne, in England
1588: A Moroccan scribe describes the Spanish defeat and praises Queen Elizabeth
1591: Moroccan conquest of Songhay
1591: Completion of the palace of al-Badīʿ in Marrakesh, inspired by the Escorial
1592: Charter of the Levant Company (that includes the Turkey Company)
1593–1606: War between the Ottomans and the Hapsburgs in Austria
1596: English sack Cadiz with Moroccan support
1600: Charter of the East India Company (England)
1603: Death of Mulay al-Mansur and Queen Elizabeth
1607: English settlement of what would become Jamestown
1607: Tuscan attack and destruction of the Tunisian port of Bôn
1609: Publication of Lope de Vegas’s *Jerusalem Conquistada*
1609–1614: Expulsion of Moriscos from Spain
1610: Al-Sheikh al-Ma’mūn hands al-ʿArai’sh (Morocco) to Spain
1618–1648: Thirty Years’ War on the Continent
1619: English colonists land at what would become Plymouth
1621: Failed English attack on Algiers
1631: Algerian pirates attack Baltimore, Ireland
1637: English fleet attacks Salé
1640: Treaty between France and Algiers for French use of Bastion
1643: Spain defeated in the battle of Rocroi, ending thereby its supremacy in Europe
1645–1669: Turko-Venetian war over Crete
1646: Knights of Malta attack Algiers harbor
1647: Translation of the Qur’an into French
1649: Translation of the Qur’an into English
1659: Beginning of the rule of the Aghas in Algiers
1662: Portugal cedes Tangier to England
1670: French founding of the Compagnie du Levant
1676: English fleet burns the port of Tripoli
1677–1679: Plague in North Africa
1682 and 1683: French bombardments of Algiers
1684: British forces leave Tangier
1685: Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; some Protestants flee to North Africa
1688: French bombardment of Algiers
1689: Publication of John Locke’s *Letter on Toleration*
1689–1697: The Nine Years’ War/War of the League of Augsburg
1690: Moroccan *reconquista* of al-ʿAra’ish.

1702–1713: War of the Spanish Succession

1704: British take Gibraltar

1705: Establishment of the Husseinite dynasty in Tunisia and ousting of Ottoman Turks

1708: Spaniards ousted from Oran

1713: Treaty of Utrecht; Britain rules the Mediterranean

1714: Beginning of the Karamanli dynasty in Libya (until 1835)

1726: Expulsion and/or assimilation of the last Muslims in Granada

1727: Deaths of Mulay Ismaʿil and of King George I

1728: Forty-five Moriscos burned for heresy in Spain

1732: Spaniards retake Oran

RULERS

Morocco

THE SA'DIANS
Ahmad al-Mansur, reg. 1578–1603
Abu Faris, reg 1603–1608 (son of al-Mansur)
Mohammad al-Sheikh al-Ma'mūn, reg. 1608–1613 (son of al-Mansur)
Mulay Zaydan, reg. 1603–1627 (son of al-Mansur)
'Abd al-Malik, reg. 1627–1631 (son of Zaydan)
Al-Walīd, reg. 1631–1636 (son of Zaydan)
Muhammad al-Sheikh al-Asghar, reg. 1636–1654 (son of Zaydan)
Ahmad al-'Abbas, reg. 1654–1659 (son of Zaydan)

THE ALAWITES
Mulay al-Rashīd, reg. 1659–1672
Mulay Isma'il, reg. 1672–1727 (brother of Rashīd)

The Ottoman Empire

Murad III, 1574–1595
Mehmed III, 1595–1603 (son of Murad)
Ahmed I, 1603–1617 (son of Mehmed)
Mustafa I, 1617–1618, 1622–1623 (brother of Ahmed/son of Mehmed)
Osman II, 1618–1622 (son of Ahmad)
Murad IV, 1623–1640 (son of Ahmad)
Ibrahīm I, 1640–1648 (son of Ahmad)
Mehmed IV, 1648–1687 (son of Ibrahīm)
Suleyman II, 1687–1691 (son of Ibrahīm)
Ahmed II, 1691–1695 (son of Ibrahīm)
Mustafa II, 1695–1703 (son of Mehmed IV)
Ahmed III 1703–1730 (son of Mehmed IV)

England/Britain

THE TUDORS
Elizabeth I, 1558–1603

THE STUARTS
James I, 1603–1625
Charles I, 1625–1649 (son of James I)
The Commonwealth, 1649–1660
Charles II, 1660–1685 (son of Charles I)
James II, 1685–1688 (d. 1701) (son of Charles I)
William and Mary, 1688–1702 (Mary daughter of James II)
Anne, 1702–1714 (daughter of James II)

THE HANOVERIANS
George I, 1714–1727

France

Henry III, 1574–1589

HOUSE OF BOURBON
Henry IV, 1589–1610
Louis XIII, 1610–1643 (son of Henry IV)
Administration of Richelieu, 1624–1642
Louis XIV, 1643–1715 (son of Louis XIII)
Louis XV, 1715–1774 (son of Louis XIV)

The Netherlands

HOUSES OF ORANGE AND NASSAU
William of Orange/the Silent, 1579–1584
Maurice of Nassau, 1584–1625 (son of William of Or-ange)
Frederick Henry, 1625–1647 (son of William of Orange), stadhouder
William II, 1647–1650 (son of Frederick Henry)
No stadhouder, 1650–1672
John de Witt, 1653–1672, Grand Pensionary of Holland
William III, 1672–1702 (son of William II)

Spain

THE HAPSBURGS
Philip II, 1556–1598
Philip III, 1598–1621 (son of Philip II)
Philip IV, 1621–1665 (son of Philip III)
Administration of Olivares, 1621–1643
Charles II, 1665–1700 (son of Philip IV)

Tunisia

(From André Raymond, “Une liste des Deys de Tunis, de 1590 à 1832,” *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 32 [1960]: 129–136. Spelling modified for consistency.)

Ibrahīm Dey, 1590
Mūsa Dey, 1592
Qara ʿUthman, 1593
Yusuf Dey, 1610
Usta Murad, 1637
Ahmad Khūja, 1640
Hajj Muhammad Laz, 1647
Hajj Mustapha Laz, 1653
Hajj Mustapha Qaraqoz, 1665
Hajj Muhammad Ugli, 1666
Hajj Shaʿban, 1669
Menteshly Dey, 1671
Hajj ʿAli Laz, Hajj Mami Jamal, 1673
Hajj Muhammad Bishara, 1677
Hajj Mami Jamal (second time), Hajj Ūzūn Ahmad, Muhammad Tabaq, 1677
Ahmad Cheleby, 1682
Hajj Baqtash, 1686
ʿAli Rayyis Dey, 1688
Ibrahīm Khūja, Hajj Mahmūd Khūja, Muhammad al-Tatar, 1694
Yaʿqūb Dey, Muhammad Khūja, 1695
Dali Muhammad, 1699
Muhammad Qahwaji, 1701
Qara Mustapha, Barazli Dey, Ibrahīm al-Sharīf, 1702
Muhammad Khūja al-Asfar, 1705
Hussein ibn ʿAli, 1705

Libya

(From L.Charles Feraud, *Annales Tripolitanes* [Tunis: Librarie Tournier, 1927], appendix. Spelling modified for consistency.)

Ramadan Pasha, 1581
Mustapha Pasha, 1584
Hussein Pasha, 1588
Ibrahīm Pasha, 1595

Iskandar Pasha, 1600
Selīm Pasha, 1606
ʿAli Pasha, 1607
Ahmad Pasha, Safar Dey, 1609
Suleyman Dey, 1610
Mustapha Sharīf Dey, 1620
Qasim Pasha, Ramadan Agha, 1631
Muhammad Saqisli Dey, 1632
ʿUthman Saqisli Dey, 1649
ʿUthman Rayyis Dey, Bali Dey, 1672
Khalīl Pasha, 1673
Mustapha Dey, Ibrahīm Masserogli Dey, 1675
Ibrahīm Cheleby Dey, Mustapha Quptan Dey, 1676
Baba ʿUthman Dey, 1677
Agha Muhammad al-Haddad, 1678
Hasan Abaza Dey, 1679
Mahmūd Dey, ʿAli al-Jaza'iri, 1682
Hajj ʿAbdallah Dey, 1683
Ibrahīm Tarazi Dey, Muhammad al-Imam Dey, 1687
ʿUthman Kawuqji Dey, Musapha Gallipoli Dey, 1701
Muhammad al-Imam Dey (second time) 1702
Khalīl Pasha, 1706
Ibrahīm Pasha, 1709
Muhammad Dey, 1710
Mahmūd Dey, 1711

THE KARAMANLI DYNASTY
Ahmad Pasha, 1711
Muhammad Pasha, 1745

Algeria

(From Eugène Plantet, *Correspondance des Deys d'Alger* [Paris: F. Alcan, 1889], vol. 2, appendix; and G. Delphin, "Histoire des Pachas d'Alger de 1515 à. 1745," *Jounral Asiatique*, April–June [1922]: 161–233. Spelling modified for consistency.)

PASHAS
Hasan Veneziano, 1577
Jaʿfar, 1580
Hasan Veneziano (second time), 1582
Mamet, 1583
Ahmad, 1586
Khadir, 1589

Shaʿban, 1592
Mustapha, Khadir (second time), 1595
Mustapha (second time), 1596
ʿAli Hasan, 1598
Suleyman, 1601
Khadir (third time), 1603
Muhammad, 1604
Mustapha Kūsa, 1605
Radwan, 1607
Mustapha Kūsa (second time), 1610
Hussein, Mustapha Kūsa (third time),1613
Hussein (second time), 1617
Sīdi Sarif, 1620
Khadir, Murad, Khosruff, 1621
Hussein (third time), 1622
Ibrahīm, 1623
Sīdi Sarif (second time), Hussein (fourth time), 1624
Younis, Hussein (fifth time), 1629
Yusuf, 1634
ʿAli, 1637
Sheikh Hussein, Yusuf Qurtanji, 1640
Murad, 1641
Yusuf Qurtanji (second time), ʿOmar, 1642
Yusuf Qurtanji (third time), 1647
Muhammad al-ʿAlim, 1652
Ahmad, 1654
Ibrahīm, 1655
Ahmad (second time), 1656
Ibrahīm (second time), 1657
ʿAli, Ismaʿil, 1659

AGHAS
Khalīl, 1659
Ramadan, 1660
Ibrahīm, Sha’ban, 1661
ʿAli, 1664

DEYS
Hajj Muhammad, 1671
Baba Hasan, 1681
Hajj Hussein Mezzomorto, 1683
Ibrahīm Khūja, 1686
Hajj Shaʿban, 1689
Hajj Ahmad, 1695

Qara ibn ʿAli, Baba Hasan, 1698
ʿAli, 1699
Baba Hajj Mustapha, 1700
Hussein Khūja, 1705
Muhammad ibn ʿAli, 1707
Dali Ibrahīm, 1709
ʿAli Qawūsh, 1710
Muhammad ibn Hasan, 1718
Cur Abdi, 1724
Baba Ibrahīm, 1732

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

> *Then she said, "I will teach you to read ifranji [French]." And I became her pupil, and she began honoring my companions. Love [mahabba] grew between us so much that I was distraught by it and I said, "Before meeting her, I was at odds with the Christians, and engaged in the holy fight for religion. But now, I am at odds with myself and Satan."*[1]

Ahmad ibn Qasim was an Andalusian Morisco who fled from Spain in 1597 and settled, like many of his compatriots, in Morocco. He was proficient in Spanish and, to the surprise of his wary coreligionists in Morocco, Arabic too. Sometime in early 1611, he was sent with five other Moroccans by the ruler Mulay Zaydan to France and the Netherlands on a mission to retrieve goods that had been stolen from Moroccan ships—or to demand compensation for them. During his three-year stay in these two countries, he observed and reflected on the *nasara*/Christians among whom he was staying, debated and argued, feasted and prayed, made friends and enemies. Much as he was inimical to "infidel" Europeans who, knowing little about Islam, did not hesitate to denounce it, he still sought engagement with Christian men and women, scholars and princes, and developed complex relations, even love, with them.

The history of Arab-European relations began with the advent of Islam and its expansion into North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula (A.D. 711), and, in the East, with the early Abbasid attempts to conquer Constantinople, and the final victory of the Ottomans over the Byzantine capital in 1453. By that year, Arab writers had become quite familiar with the Europeans, both as Crusaders and as geographical neighbors.[2] From Istanbul, the Ottomans began pushing into Central and Western Europe until the failed attempt against Vienna in 1683; at the same time, the Western Mediterranean/the Maghrib became a theater of coastal invasions, piracies, and abductions—what Fernand Braudel called the "small wars" between Christendom and Dar al-Islam. In all these regions and times, the Arabs, the Berbers, the Turks, the Ottomans, and other Muslims as well as Eastern Christians came into contact with European Christians. Although warfare often dominated these contacts, there were various venues of interaction that were not confrontational, especially after frontiers stabilized and trade, diplomatic exchange, commerce, and political alliance flourished. Muslims recruited Christian mercenaries to fight in their wars, as Christian rulers had earlier relied on Muslim physicians and military personnel to help them in times of need. From Marrakesh to Alexandria and from Santa Cruz/Aghadir to Istanbul, Europeans settled and conducted business at the same time that Muslims adopted innovations and material culture from the Europeans whom they visited, kidnapped, or were kidnapped by, and, as in the case of Ahmad ibn Qasim, loved.

It is this familiarity between the two religious societies of Arabic-speaking Magharibi and Western Europeans that this book will explore —the Arabic image of the *nasara* of Europe between 1578 and 1727.[3] The starting date for this study is the year that witnessed the victory of Wadi al-Makhazin/Alcazar (*al-ghazwa al-ʿuzma*/the Great Raid, as Moroccan historians remembered it) and the accession of Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur to the throne in Marrakesh. The Moroccan victory over the Portuguese-led crusade in 1578 marked the beginning of the Muslim *reconquista* of regions in North Africa formerly colonized by Europeans, a *reconquista* that continued for more than a century and succeeded in liberating most, but not all, of the Spanish, French, and British outposts. (Today, Spanish Ceuta and Melilla are reminders of the age of European empire.) The ending year is the date of the death of the Moroccan ruler Mulay Ismaʿil (and of George I and close to the death of the Ottoman sultan Ahmed III, in 1730). It concluded the rule of a powerful Magharibi leader whose influence was felt throughout the Western Mediterranean, both Christian and Muslim.

This period, 1578–1727, has been ignored by historians of Arabic and Islamic civilizations who have turned their attention either to the study of the medieval period, with its numerous geographical texts and travelogues about the lands of the Christians, or to the modern period, with its Middle Eastern *nahda*/Renaissance and its appropriation of European social and political ideas. While the medieval period resonated with Islamic power, the modern period rebounds with the devastating impact of European imperialism on the Arab and Muslim worlds. In both periods, there was an imbalance that resulted in stereotypes of otherness, and—chiefly from the Western legacy—a thriving and triumphant orientalism. In the early modern period, however,[4] and in the Arab-Islamic West, there was less of a monolithic construction of otherness and more of a diversity of perspectives—an evolution of responses and reactions toward Christendom based on changes in geopolitical relations. The study of the early modern period is important because it redirects today's East-West and colonized-colonizer discourse to the specificity of historical antecedents. By going behind the binaries created by European imperialism after the eighteenth century, historians gain access to an Arabic historiography that was both complex and not—not yet, at least—essentialized, a historiography that had been epistemologically molded by the ongoing engagements and encounters with the European *nasara*.

The "Arabic" that will be discussed in this book will be chiefly the Arab-Islamic West: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia (the triple Maghrib), and Libya, although some attention will be paid to the Mashriq Levant too. The reason for the Magharibi emphasis is the distinctive culture that prevailed in that region, dictated by its geographic proximity to Europe and its changing demography after the arrival of hundreds of thousands of expelled European/Christianized Muslims, the Moriscos, throughout the sixteenth century, culminating in the exodus of 1609–1614. Even European writers of the time recognized the uniqueness of the "Western Mussulman" or "Western Moors."[5] Although all Muslim writers about Christendom were convinced that they possessed absolute religious truth and therefore were not dissimilar from each other in their sense of superiority to the Christians, the separation of Morocco from the Ottoman Empire and the Arabic linguistic continuity and cultural autonomy that persisted in the North African regencies produced a Magharibi interest in, and reaction to, Europe that was quite different from that of the rest of the Islamic world.[6] It was in the Maghrib that a triangulation of encounters took place in the early modern period: Moroccan/Magharibi—Ottoman Turkish—Euro-Christian (Protestant British and Dutch, and Catholic French and Spanish, Italian and Maltese). It was the misfortune of the Islamic West that its study was completely subsumed under the Ottoman Empire in Fernand Braudel's magisterial *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. But Europe was more frequently encountered in the Islamic West, and quite differently, than in the Ottoman Levant.[7] As the contrast between contemporary travelers to Christendom will show (chapter II)—one from the Mashriq and the other from the Maghrib—there were important cultural and ideological priorities that dictated the differences in perception and reaction.

A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

Historians of the medieval period have argued that Muslim Arabs and non-Arabs (but writing in Arabic) did not show interest in Latin Christendom as they did in the Far East, since no comprehensive surveys of medieval Christendom have survived as they have about

China and India. In his seminal work, *Al-ʿArab wa-l Barabira* (1991), ʿAzīz al-ʿAzmeh explained that medieval Arabic travel and geographical authors treated the Europeans as barbarians of little interest: because Europeans were Christian, and since Muslims approached Christianity through the prism of the Qur'an, Muslims did not bother to study European society; in their view, that society was summed up in its theology, which was, according to the Qur'an, false and distorted. As a result, the Arabic interest turned toward the East, with its ancient civilizations and vast intellectual output, which, as of the eighth century, played a significant role in the formation of Arab civilization.[8]

Tarif Khalidi contested al-ʿAzmeh's position by exploring the Muslim geographical, historical, and cultural views about Western Europe in the Classical Period.[9] As far back as al-Masʿūdi (d. 956), the Baghdad-born traveler, Khalidi argued, there had been writings about the Greeks and the kings of the Franks, and about the scientific legacy of these peoples, although not about their political history or geography.[10] Khalid Ziyadah returned to al-ʿAzmeh's position, arguing that from the Crusades on, Western Europeans became more informed about Dar al-Islam than Muslims did about Christendom.[11] Only a few medieval Muslims wandered into Western or Central Europe and wrote about it: al-Ghazal in the ninth century[12] and Ibn Fadlan in the tenth[13] are famous for having left behind descriptions of Denmark and eastern Russia, respectively. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) wrote about the Greeks and the Latins, praising their civilizations, being the only medieval Muslim historiographer to use Latin sources in his exposition.[14] Although he noted the growing power of the Christian nations of Europe, and the progress of their technologies and innovations, his information about those nations remained limited, because his travels, like those of his famous predecessor from Morocco, Ibn Battuta (d. 1369), had taken him eastward rather than northward (although earlier in his life he had gone to Spain, about which he wrote only a few lines).[15] In *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*, Nadia Maria El Cheikh (2004) carefully showed the range of accurate and inaccurate images that the Arabs had of the *rūm*/Byzantine Christians from the first allusions in the Qur'an (ca. 610–632) to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. El Cheikh examined a wide range of sources from literature, history, theology, and travel writing, demonstrating how Arabs possessed both stereotypical and empirically derived information about the formidable adversary to their west. In *ʿAlam al-Qurūn al-Wusta fī Aʿyun al-Muslimīn*/The World of the Middle Ages in Muslim Eyes (2007), ʿAbdallah Ibrahīm dedicated the second unit of the book to the "North"/Europe, with selections from authors ranging from Abu al-Fida' to al-Masʿūdi and from Ibn Rustah to al-Tartūshi, al-Ghazal, and

Usamah ibn Munqidh.

ʿAzīz al-ʿAzmeh reentered the debate by turning scholarly attention to the Muslim West and arguing that when the Muslims were in cheek-by-jowl proximity with the Christians in the Iberian Peninsula (before 1492), their discourse about the Christian adversary was derived not from their actual contact with them but from poetical and literary stereotypes. The images were uniformly denigrating, ranging from descriptions of Christian men as descendants of drunkards and uncircumcised pig breeders to characterizations of Christian women as lascivious and voracious.[16] While al-ʿAzmeh's evidence is compelling, his thesis does not apply later: the fall of Granada in 1492 and the beginning of the final expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609 brought about a complete separation between the two sides of the Mediterranean during which time Magharibi writers neither emulated their stereotype-bound predecessors nor employed the intellectual paradigms and technological tools of "Occidentiosis" (to use Edward Said's term). Instead, they relied on their actual experiences of engagement and encounter, producing information about the Europeans that was empirical and specific. As Bernard Lewis noted, "The main movement of refugees" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was from Europe to the Levant[17] (and North Africa). Such movement inevitably facilitated the transfer of information about the Europeans to the Arabs and the Muslims.

In *Trickster Traveler*, Natalie Zemon Davis offered an insightful study of the life and writings of Hasan al-Wazzan/Leo Africanus and of Christian-Islamic relations in the late medieval Mediterranean. At the end of her introduction, Davis asked an important question: "Did the Mediterranean waters not only divide north from south, believer from infidel, but also link them through similar strategies of dissimulation, performance, translation, and the quest for peaceful enlightenment?"[18] She then turned to answer the question by situating the writings of al-Wazzan in the context of earlier and contemporary Arabic and Italian literature and culture.[19] As her study demonstrates, al-Wazzan presented in his famous account about North Africa a cautious view of Christians and Christendom, but one that was informed by tolerant breadth toward all the Jews and the Christians whom he met. Because the text was written in Italian, however, it did not have an impact on the Arabic-speaking region (its first translation into Arabic took place in the last quarter of the twentieth century). Western Arabic authors coming after al-Wazzan diverged from his breadth, because by the end of the sixteenth century the "infidels" had occupied far more regions in North Africa than al-Wazzan could have imagined possible. Just over half a century after al-Wazzan's death, the Moroccan ambassador, al-Tamjruti, sailing the same route that al-Wazzan had, expressed antipathy to the Euro-Christians, “may God destroy them,” whose military and naval expansion had become aggressive and destructive (see translation #3).

Andrew C. Hess’s *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the 16th-Century Ibero-African Frontier* (1978) confirmed that in the sixteenth century, the Mediterranean, which had been a location for intellectual and cultural interaction among Muslims and Christians, became a barrier dividing the two religious imperialisms of the Ottomans and the Hapsburgs. Bernard Lewis agreed, showing in *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (1982) how Muslims had little interest in Europe until the nineteenth century. Specifically, Lewis stated, “in the world of Islam, Morocco … was a remote and isolated outpost and a comparatively small and weak country at that.” “Remote it certainly was from the power centers of the Middle East, but small and weak was not how the English queen or the Dutch *stadhouder* perceived this giant of the Islamic West,” disagreed L. P. Harvey in his erudite *Islam in Spain, 1500–1614*.[20] The valuable work of G. A. Wiegers and others has shown the importance of the Islamic West in the early modern period, particularly the role of the Moriscos. In the spirit of Lewis, however, Stuart B. Schwartz did not include any material on the Islamic Other’s perception of Europeans in his *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (1994), nor did Anthony Pagden in his two-volume survey, *Facing Each Other: The World’s Perception of Europe and Europe’s Perception of the World* (2000). Earlier, in *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (1994), Palmira Brummett had contested such dismissive and reactive views by showing how much the Ottomans of the sixteenth century were engaged in trade and exchange with Christian regions, especially Venice and Genoa.

In the study of the eighteenth century, Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (1963) noted that the Arabs of the Levant (he did not examine the Maghrib) showed no interest in Europe, believing that the heritage of the Middle Ages had given them the edge over the Europeans. In the study of the nineteenth century, Charles Issawi argued (1998) that the Arab peoples (of the Levant, not the West) felt hostile to Europeans and therefore wrote little about them. But Susan Gilson Miller (1992) had shown in her translation and study of the journey by the Moroccan ambassador Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah al-Saffar to France (1845–1846) the predominance of curiosity over antipathy, while Nazik Yarid (1996) had argued for a mix of curiosity and hostility among nineteenth- and twentieth-century Arab Middle Eastern travelers to the West. In *Sufaraʾ Maghariba fī Urubba, 1610–1922* (1995), ʿAbd al-Majīd Qaddūri contrasted the assured and defiant outlook of Ahmad ibn Qasim in the early seventeenth century with the views of ambassadors who traveled to Europe between the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries, showing how the latter recognized the underdeveloped and weakened conditions in their country in comparison to the lands of the Christians.

WHY DID ONLY A FEW ARABS WRITE ABOUT EUROPE?

All of the above scholarship leaves one question unanswered: Why was it that throughout the early modern period, Magharibi—and generally Arabic—knowledge about Europeans remained by far narrower in scope than European knowledge about the Muslim world? Explanations have varied, with some historians advancing the psychological absence of "curiosity" among Muslims[21] or crediting Islamic narrowness to the injunctions of jurists,[22] especially the Malikis of North Africa. Such explanations are inadequate: although some Maliki jurists bluntly prohibited travel into the lands of the Christians, they did not do so because of their insularity or xenophobia. It was, after all, a Maliki judge who asked Ahmad ibn Qasim to write about the lands of the Christians, believing that such a book was "of benefit to Muslims." A decade before Ibn Qasim crossed into Europe, a certain "Moor" had established a deep friendship with an English naval captain, Henry Timberlake, showing neither hostility nor antipathy to the Christian.[23] Mulay Zaydan, the son of Ahmad al-Mansur, felt no qualms about engaging openly with the People of the Book, and in a letter to Maurice of Nassau in October 1608, he commended cooperation among different religious communities.[24] In a seventeenth-century manuscript of jurisprudential decisions by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Zayati, *Al-Jawahir al-Mukhtara*, the Maliki jurist was asked whether Muslims should go to Christian Sicily. He replied in the negative because, he explained, Muslims had gone there selling wax, meat, saddles, wool, caftan, carpets, and other material to the Sicilians, thereby strengthening them in their aggression against Muslims.[25] Another entry in a series of *nawazil*/jurisprudential decisions clearly explained why travel to the lands of the Christians was counterproductive:

> As for what the degenerate merchants do when they travel to the land of war, and enter under their [Christians] jurisdiction: they carry the Muslim wealth of currency and others to them, by which they grow stronger against Muslims. There is no need to bring in a jurisprudential decision to prohibit [such travel] since the actions of the merchants are widely known in the courts.

> What they do is so sickening and depraved that ears are filled with the news, and the minds are boggled. They travel to their [Christians'] lands and enter under the force of their jurisdiction, taking with them good money: pure gold, pure silver, and various kinds of weapons and other items. And they receive in payment herbs of the earth, called fire and smoke [tobacco]. This is such a disaster, and a great calamity.[26]

The prohibition against travel to the lands of the Christians was more against trade and the consequences of that trade than against travel as such (unlike in the contemporary Japan of the shogunnate, where any subject who traveled outside the country was punished by death). Evidently there was much exchange with Christians, to the point where Muslims sold their *eid* sacrifices of sheep to them, to the ireful fury of the jurists. And "mixing" between Magharibi tribes and the *nasara* of the presidios continued so much that "*mahabba*"/love developed among them[27]—and was denounced by al-Zayati, who further complained that when Muslims traveled among, and traded with, Christians, "their food supplies would increase and they will come to possess wealth with which they will fight Muslims and invade their land."[28] The existence of prohibitions against Muslims trading with Christians shows that Muslims were active in commerce in the lands of the Christians—and that as much as jurists condemned such intercourse with the *nasara*, they stood as little chance of putting an end to it as did Christian clergy, princes, and even the papacy of curbing Christian trading with the Muslim world.

Still, trade and travel by Muslims to Christendom remained limited, but more because of the hostility of Europeans than the opposition of jurists. Travel from Dar al-Islam to Christendom nearly always took place aboard European ships, and the factor that was instrumental in hindering Arab visits to *bilad al-nasara* was the frequent refusal of the Europeans to provide means of transportation. The Magharibi preferred European ships over their own because they knew that European ships were better built (English, Dutch, and French ships were built to sail in the rough Atlantic and Indian oceans) and more capable of defending themselves against attacks by pirates than Magharibi ships. Europeans were fully aware of this preference and manipulated relations with North Africa by providing—or denying—travelers, traders, envoys, and ransomers access to their ships. By so doing, Europeans controlled the number, frequency, and possibility of Arab-Muslim visits. In 1615 Mulay Zaydan sent an ambassador to Holland in the hope of reaching France and negotiating the release of captives. In a letter to the States General, Zaydan complained about how his ambassador, who had "traversed seas and distant countries until he drew near" to his destination, found the French king denying him a ship and therefore shutting "the door in his face and forbidding him from even reaching him."[29] Muslims, from both the Mashriq and the Maghrib, were at the mercy of the Europeans since they could neither visit nor conduct diplomatic or commercial initiatives independent of the transporters. When Fakhr al-Dīn left for his five-year exile in Italy and Malta in 1613, he and his large entourage could not but rely on Flemish and French ships.

The reason Europeans did not want Muslims to visit their lands, and when and if Muslims did, did not facilitate their return, was their fear that Muslims would learn—and write—about the host countries. Evidently Europeans noted the "curiosity" of visitors and travelers—and were uncomfortable about the extent of information that Muslims could gather. The ambassador sent by Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur to Queen Elizabeth in was a man who knew Spanish well, was interested in modern astronomical instruments, and was "au courant des choses d'Europe"/conversant in European affairs.[30] He was so inquisitive about weights and measures, market exchange, and royal progresses that he was suspected of being a spy.[31] After the Mount Lebanon prince, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿni II, had spent five years in Italy, the duke of Naples did not want him to return to his country. The duke had welcomed the anti-Ottoman prince because he thought he would coordinate with him an invasion of the East. When the prince refused to cooperate, the duke stated that "it was not good for the son of Maʿn to return to his country because he has seen the lands of the Christians and their way of life."[32] The Italian feared that the Levantine would divulge secrets about trade, industry, and political ambitions. Which Fakhr al-Dīn did: after his return to Mount Lebanon, he authorized his scribe to write a detailed description of the cities and novelties they had seen in Italy and Malta (see translation #5). Muslims wrote little about Europe not because they were not curious but because Europeans prevented them from visiting and subsequently describing their lands. Europeans too would have written little about Dar al-Islam had Muslims applied the same strictures and xenophobic prohibitions. Much more than the Maliki injunctions, it was the unavailability—or limitedness—of European transport and welcome that militated against Arabic and Muslim writing about the lands of the Christians.

Furthermore, by the second half of the seventeenth century, European powers such as France and Britain had acquired the military edge over the Magharibi to force on them treaties that prohibited anyone other than their own traders (and only those in the chartered or royal companies) from commercial travel. The Europeans wanted to monopolize trade in the Mediterranean and made every effort to exclude rivals, both Christian and non-Christian. The treaty between Morocco and France of stated that only if the Moroccan ships carried passes previously issued to them by the French king would they be permitted to dock in “des Villes et Ports où ils seront equippez”/cities and ports where they can victual.[33] Without passes, they would be subject to attack. Half a century later, the exclusion of the Magharibi became complete: the treaty signed between England and Algiers in (renewed in 1729) stated that “none of the ships, or other smaller vessels of Algiers, shall remain cruizing near or in sight of any of His Majesty’s roads, havens, or ports, towns and places,” and when the British asked the Moroccan ruler for “Lime Brick and Tyles” for Gibraltar, he insisted that despite the religious injunctions against giving “materially for the Christians to Fortifie themselves,” he would do so, but only if the British would permit “all sorts of Merchants as well Moors as Jews” to trade freely in Gibraltar.[34] The only way Ismaʿil could ensure the access of his Muslim and Jewish subjects to a European port was by compromising his own defenses. Pass or no pass, the Magharibi were not to go near European coasts. In February 1704, Mulay Ismaʿil was bluntly told that none of his ships “shal come into the Channell or near the Coast of any of our Dominions.”[35] Indeed, during the negotiations that preceded the Anglo-Moroccan treaty, the English ambassador had forcefully demanded that the “New Treaty … restrain the Moorish Cruizers from coming on our Coast.”[36] Even when the Magharibi were willing to sail their own ships, they met with European refusal—and open hostility. In (ca. 1714), the Algerian dey wrote to Queen Anne complaining that two of his cruisers had gone into Gibraltar, whereupon “the English threw Stones at Cursed and Spitt in the Faces of our Men being on shore and the Governour Detained our Captaine and gave them much trouble saying that they had English men on board their ships whereas when any of your Ships either men of Warr or Merchant men come here we give them esteem and respect.”[37] Neither Magharibi Muslims nor Jews were permitted to “reside” in Christian regions, not even the Gibraltar outpost. They could trade, but they had to “depart with their effects” at the end of the day as the “Additional Articles of Peace” between Morocco and Britain stated, July 10, 1729. As Frédéric Hitzel succinctly said about early modern Ottoman travelers, and by extension, all Muslims, “il n’existe pas de sauf-conduit pour les musulmans qui voyagent en Europe chrétienne ni pour ceux qui y resident”/There is no safe conduct for Muslims who travel to Christian Europe, nor for those who live there.[38] The fact that the Muslims did not travel to Europe was dictated by European strategy; but when the Europeans were willing to permit Muslims to rent ships to travel to their lands, the Muslims seized the opportunity zealously—as the list of Algerian merchants who traded with France at the beginning of the eighteenth century shows.[39]

Alongside transportation limitations, fear of captivity was another factor that militated against travel and familiarity.[40] From the initial attacks on the North African coast by Portuguese pirates and navies in the fifteenth century, and throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Iberians, the French, the British, the Maltese, and the Italians were active in the seizure of men, women, and children for domestic and transatlantic slavery. In the Spanish attack on Oran in 1511, four thousand Muslims were killed and more than eight thousand taken captive; and in the attack on Tripoli in July of the year after, the Christians took more than fifteen thousand captives.[41] In the "black years" of 1521–1522, nearly sixty thousand Moroccans were seized and deported to Europe;[42] and after repulsing Charles V in his attempt on Algiers in 1541, thousands of slaves were liberated, some originating in "the Maghrib [Morocco], some in Algiers and some in Tunis."[43] In the first three decades of the sixteenth century, according to Ahmad Bu Sharab's extensive study of the Portuguese Inquisition records, there were more than one hundred thousand captives and slaves in the country;[44] there was a similar number in Spain in that century.[45] Captivity was a danger that the Magharibi continued to face well into the eighteenth century (see translation #15).

The captivity of kinsmen and kinswomen was a constant source of terror for Muslim relatives at home, a terror that was augmented by the arrival of the Morisco exiles, who brought with them tales, poems, and memories about torture and burnings that indelibly scarred the Magharibi mind about the lands of the Christians. Ibn Qasim, whose title *Nasir al-Dīn ʿala al-Qawm al-Kafirīn* was part of Saʿdian tombstone epitaphs for defenders of the faith,[46] described to his readers from Cairo to Tunis and Marrakesh the ostracism and racial exclusion that he had encountered in Spain before his escape to Morocco. Just for trying to preserve their religious legacy and culture, he wrote, the Muslims had been persecuted, and the Spaniards had killed and burned "every one on whom they find an Arabic book or about whom they know he reads Arabic."[47] In Muhammad Rabadan, a Morisco poet from Aragon, wrote an account about Islam in a combination of Spanish and Aljamiada. But the British Library manuscript opens with haunting invocations in large Arabic script, page after page, simply repeating "la ilaha illa Allah"/there is no god but God—as if to assert a faith being slowly obliterated. It is as if the Arabic letters ensured the survival of the Arabic Qur'an—particularly for someone from Aragon, where Arabic had been completely obliterated. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, Rabadan continued, "bism al-lahi ʿala ikhwani al-muslimīn wa-l-muslimat"/the name of God be upon my Muslim brothers and sisters; be assured that nothing will happen to us except what God has ordained.[48] In 1615, after what was to happen did happen—the expulsion of around eight hundred thousand people, according to Ibn Qasim[49]—another Morisco, al-Karīm ibn ʿAli Perez, rebuked the Euro-Christians for their violence. As the English translation of his manuscript by Joseph Morgan in the early eighteenth century shows, Morisco fear had turned into antipathy as the exiled writer castigated the Europeans for treating Muslims in a manner that the Muslims had not treated Christians or the other People of the Book, the Jews.[50]

The first exiles from Iberia in the ninth century had constituted themselves in a part of Fez that came to be known as Hayy al-Andalūsiyyīn/the Andalusian Neighborhood—and still is to this very day. From the sixteenth century on, the Moriscos settled as a distinct cultural community in many regions of North Africa, always recalling, in poems and songs, their villages and homes, their lost families and devastated history. Some of their architecture reflected their European experience,[51] and their new homes retained motifs of the regions from which they had fled. Granadans carved a pomegranate on their house door, to remind them of their city that carried the name of that fruit (and they still do so today, as a friend showed me on the gate of his house). The exiles to Salé from the Hornacho region in Spain so remained attached to their Spanish homeland that in 1631, 1637, and they offered to hand Salé over to Spain if they would be allowed to return home and reunite with their children; and whenever they met with trouble, whether from the English navy or from the Moroccan rulers, they turned to Spain because they felt "they were Spaniards."[52] Some Moriscos adopted Christian designs in their mosques,[53] while others brought with them Renaissance literature: Cervantes was read in Tunis, as were other writers, including Lope de Vega.[54] A small number of exiles managed to escape into France and parts of Italy, but were later expelled to North Africa, taking with them memories of their exposure to the Christendom of fanaticism and exclusion. For centuries to follow, neither the exiles nor their descendants could forget their homes: when the Moroccan ambassador Muhammad ibn ʿUthman al-Miknasi (d. 1799) visited Tunisia in 1785, he met with descendants of the expulsion. The inhabitants of Testour, he wrote, inquired "about their land, al-Andalus, which I had observed when I traveled there in 1193 [1780]. So I told them about their lands and regions, and they rejoiced. Each told me how he had come from such-and-such a city and then asked me to describe it. Which I did."[55] When the Moroccans later decided on the capital of their country, the choice fell on Rabat—the religio-military base against invaders. Rabat is the only capital in the world named as a vis-à-vis to European invaders (from *ribat*, a military outpost).

Even in such *ribats*, there was always fear at the ease with which Euro-Christians infiltrated Muslim cities. In 1023/1614, the Christians grew to such numbers near Salé that they took possession of the woods, prevented the locals from using them, and seized whatever they could of the "caravans of the Muslims."[56] A letter from the rebel-jurist al-ʿAyyashi (d. 1641) lamented that the "enemy has crossed the sea and attacked the Muslims in their own lands, taking people into slavery from among their communities, leaving none to weep for them."[57] Later in the century, Muhammad al-ʿUdwani reported a meeting with a Christian spy in which the latter warned him that his coreligionists were still eager to conquer the lands of the Muslims:

> I said, "You Christian, do the hearts of your fellow coreligionists still yearn for the conquest of the land of the Muslims?"
> "Yes," he said, "we have documents in the fortress of Fadda that we shall return to the land of the Arabs. And all Christians share this view."
> I said, "And what are you doing here? Evidently they have not informed the Turks about you?"
> "No, nobody knows about me except you," he replied. "I suspect you have an informer who tells you about things, for none has seen through my disguise."[58]

Evidently Euro-Christians were able to infiltrate North African society to the point that none recognized that they were spies. Many such Christians came from the Spanish and Portuguese (and later French and British) colonial outposts that dotted the Atlantic and Mediterranean coastline from Santa Cruz through Tangier to Melilla and Cap-Négre, and until 1574, Tunis, too. These devastating European enclaves on African soil, or as the Ottoman Sultan Selim II in a letter of May 6, 1573, described their inhabitants, "ashrar al-kuffar al-mutawattinīn fī sawahil al-bihar"/the evil infidels who are settled in the coasts of the seas,[59] were very much like penal colonies from which European soldiers-cum-convicts sortied to steal food and cattle (goats, camels, sheep, and cows) as well as to capture Magharibi men, women, and children.

In 1664 an English writer described how the Spanish presidios in North Africa were full of "malefactors," banished there from the European mainland—a practice that continued for more than a century.[60] Such malefactors terrorized and pillaged the local inhabitants. The first adjective that the author of the vast compendium of jurisprudential determinations *al-Jawahir al-Mukhtara* applies to Christians is *lusūs*/thieves[61]—the same word that the Powhattans used to describe the settlers of Jamestown.[62] Presidios housed the worst elements from Christendom—and from Dar al-Islam too. They offered a haven for the *mughattisīn*/baptizers—*ʿarab mutanassira*/“Christianized Arabs,” as the eighteenth-century Algerian ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Mashrafi called them (or *al-maghatīs*)[63]—who posed as peddlers and kidnapped Muslims, hid them under the leather wares on their horses, and then sold them in the slave markets of the presidios. On one occasion, they had even baptized and sold their own imam.[64] Such a community was neither fully Muslim Arab nor fully Christian Spaniard, crossing between the two languages and religions to the point that the members were sometimes known as “Demi-Spaniards.”[65] They were in flux, depending on livelihood, war and peace, and expediency—Muslim or Christian according to need, not faith (see translation #9). These people, along with the soldiers/settlers in the presidios, caused as much fear of the Christian Europeans among the Magharibi as an Algerian outpost in Portsmouth, for instance, would have caused among the population of southwest England and Wales, or a Saletian colony in Cadiz or in Brindisi. The Moroccan jurist Abu Zayd al-Fasi described how one day the sixteenth-century reformer Radwan al-Janawy was in the west of Morocco when he saw the Christians on their saddled horses, scanning the horizon from their outpost. He wept and called on the ruler to save the Maghrib, for there was no safety for Muslims even on their own soil.[66] “The Christians so increased in number,” the historian Amlaq ʿAbd al-Qahir ibn Muhammad wrote in the nineteenth century about the early seventeenth century, “that they took control of the woods [near Halq Sabwa] … and they seized the caravans of the Muslims.”[67] The presidios projected an image of violent and fanatical Europeans. Our subjects, complained the Tunisian bey to King Louis XIV on May 12, 1700, are treated badly by the French in Cap-Négre,[68] who had been in possession of that outpost since 1634. In 1710 the Moroccan traveler ʿAbdallah ibn al-Hajj Ibrahīm reached a site on the coast that had once been held by Christians, but he was warned that there were jinn and ghosts in it. The fear of the Christian invaders had grown into supernatural terror.[69] That is why, perhaps, when a Magharibi wanted to curse another, he wished him death in the land of the Christians/*barr al-nasara*.[70]

Fear of the *nasara* stemmed from widespread regional insecurity. In Tunis the population believed that the French would prevail over them if the famous Qayrawan mosque was destroyed. The collapse of one of the minarets in June 1713 sent shivers down Tunisian backs.[71] As the Moroccan historian Muhammad ibn al-Tayyib al-Qadiri (1712–1773) stated, not only did Iberians pose a threat to Muslims, but they also spread poverty by pillaging and enslaving them. Because of the Christians, he wrote, “there are many hapless men and widows …

unable to fend for themselves.”[72] When Abu ʿAbdallah ibn Khalil Ghalbūn al-Tarabulsi wrote his history of Tripoli in Libya, ca. 1739, he recalled the treaty that his predecessors had conceded to the Spaniards (actually the French) in 1685. “From that day,” he wrote angrily,

> the *ifranj* grew strong in the land and more important. They dictated for their peace stipulations that no believer in God would accept … such as having their tyrant [ruler/*taghiya*], whoever he was, to walk with his shoes on the land that belonged to the successor of God and His prophet on earth. They demanded that their grandee openly carry arms, and that no Muslim be judged according to the holy law but by their government in the capital of their leader.[73]

Throughout the early modern period, the Western Muslim identity was forged in the anxieties, conflicts, and jihad against Euro-Christian invaders. Thus came about the writings of Ibn Abi Dinar (Tunis), Mahmūd Maqdīsh (Morocco), Ibn Ghalbūn al-Tarabulsi (Libya), Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jīlani (Algeria), and others. Histories of the conflicts were written and rewritten sometimes decades, even a century, after events, attesting to the duration of recollection and anxiety (see translation #11a). When an Algerian chronicler recorded the history of the pashas of his country in the second half of the eighteenth century, he still recalled the number of bombs that the French had hurled at his city: three hundred on January 10, 1682, and seven hundred on December 31, 1682.[74]

The systematic bombardment of the Magharibi fleets and port facilities brought navigational growth in North Africa to a standstill. These bombardments were part of the emergence of the European empires in that they destroyed competitive commercial and industrial infrastructures as well as port facilities, buildings, and whole cities. The fear of the sea in Moroccan imagination became so powerful that the royal cities of Morocco were built deep in the mountains, while on the seacoasts arose numerous shrines and Sufi lodges from which holy men protected the population from attacks. No discussion of early modern relations between the two sides of the Mediterranean is complete if it ignores the emergent expansionist ideology of Spain, France, Portugal, and England/Britain, and the piratical depredations of those powers, along with Italy and Malta. While theological and psychological factors may have played a role in dissuading Muslims from visiting Christendom, there were historical reasons that were both decisive and deterring.

Despite the fear regarding the Christians of Europe, the Magharibi possessed various venues by which they could collect and disseminate information. Unlike a Muslim in Istanbul, Isfahan, or Aghra, so far away geo graphically, a Muslim in Algiers or Tunis, Tetouan or Santa Cruz/Aghadir could not help but interact with Western Europeans, since his life and livelihood were closely intertwined with the sailors, invaders, traders, mercenaries, and allies from the lands of the Christians. That is why the Arabic communities of North Africa were the first to write about Europeans in the early modern period, long before other, non-Arab Muslims or non-Christians did. They told stories, composed poems, and devised *nawazil* as they saw the Euro-Christians wandering in their lands, spying, buying and selling, invading, colonizing, and migrating. In turning to the Arabic sources for information about Europeans, it will be necessary to adopt a different methodological paradigm from that applied to the study of Western sources about the Muslim world. To approach Arabic sources through a macrohistorical lens that relies on grand narratives and overarching texts is of limited value, since there are only a few ambassadorial accounts in the surviving Arabic corpus. (In my previous work, *In the Lands of the Christians*, I translated a few of these macrohistorical texts.) But the Magharibi archive did not produce many such texts—definitely nothing in the tradition of Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406). Actually, there is no discussion of his theory of history (there are of his views on the *mahdi*) anywhere in the early modern Magharibi archive. The only macro-historical work, again from before the period under study, is al-Hasan al-Wazzan's description of Africa. Although al-Wazzan/Leo Africanus wrote in Italian and could be a viewed as a Euro-Christian, he belonged in his account to a well-entrenched travel tradition of Arabic curiosity and specificity. He wrote about the way people ate and lived, and what their beliefs, practices, and customs were—features of sociology and cultural history that had never attracted European writers.

This is why a different historiographical method should be applied, such as Carlo Ginzburg's microhistory in *The Cheese and the Worms*. The information that is available about Europeans in the Western Islamic Arabic corpus is similar to Ginzburg's material about Menocchio the miller: allusions, recollections, and anecdotes,[75] which appear at unexpected moments in texts that may have nothing to do with the Europeans but that record a story that the author/narrator remembered or had heard, or a tribulation he had experienced. Using a similar methodology, "a microstudy," Nelly Hanna examined the archive of Abu Taqiyya in Egypt, and unraveled the history of a trader and his vast connections in the commercial world of the early modern Mediterranean. Although there was not much about Europe in the Abu Taqiyya documents, other archives do contain information about Europeans, but again, it is information that has to be sought via a method that is different from the search for information about Muslims in European books. To find it, one must consult various genres of writings that, in the Western tradition, normally would not be consulted because they would not be deemed useful: hagiography, jurisprudence, and history, in verse as in prose, in the court and at the mosque. The information appears in memories and prayers, exegetical reflections and short exempla, commemorative verses and ballads, showing how anecdotes and jokes, food recipes and medical advice, were constantly crossing between the two shores of the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, Arabic letters and royal correspondence are crucial for the official view of the European, as are the *nawazil* for the jurisprudential view; travel accounts, few as they are, along with chronicles and dynastic or world histories, provide the ideological view of the Europeans. Altogether, the information from all these disparate but numerous sources furnishes “a multi-vocal narrative, a ‘montage of fragments.’”[76]

Microhistory can uncover evidence to challenge the prevalent theories about early modern Arabic and Islamic ignorance about Christendom. Much of the information in the Arabic sources began as oral communications before it was written down, and therefore the method of analyzing and interpreting such material must differ from the study of European sources that were composed on paper and then appeared in print. This point is crucial: not all cultures can be studied in the same historiographical manner, and for the study of Arabic sources, only microhistory with its clustering together of reports/images/memories can produce a construction of the early modern Arabic view of Europeans. To be sure, it is a construction, but it is a construction that, situated within the proper geographic and historical frames, demonstrates that the Arabic-speaking peoples of the Mediterranean possessed their own “narratives” about the Euro-Christians and were neither indifferent to nor ignorant about them. Ambassadors and their delegates wrote profusely to their home communities in letters, which unfortunately have not survived. What has survived is summaries of those letters, written by the agents in the host countries who monitored the North African guests. From the large number of such summaries, it becomes evident that the Muslim visitors wrote in great detail about what they saw: “A letter from Elhadge Umhamed Gennwn a rich Merchant, To the Ambassador … [about] matters of Trade & Commerce giving the prices of Goods, and what summes he has paid there.”[77] There are dozens of similar letters.

There were various ways to disseminate information—a dissemination that stretched into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the printing press made permanent on paper what had been recollected orally, sometimes correctly, sometimes not, for decades and centuries.

In this respect, finding Arabic information about Europeans entails not a challenge to theology or psychology but a challenge to historiography. Cultures write differently about similar experiences: a traveler from the Maghrib to the Mashriq did not just concentrate on describing the course of the journey and the places he saw, as the European did; he quoted numerous passages from earlier writers, composed lengthy poems of praise and admiration to saints and holy men he encountered on the road, and added verbose expressions of gratitude to his hosts. The European, also traveling from the West to the East, might quote some classical writer about the region, but the goal of the travelogue was to highlight the novelty that had been seen and described, thereby encouraging readers to buy the printed account. Both the Magharibi and the European were traveling into far new lands: the distance from Paris to Jerusalem was just about the same as from Marrakesh to the Holy City. But while the Magharibi cared for continuity with the past, trying to find links to history and religious traditions, the Western European sought originality and uniqueness along with the exotic.[78] Christian writers, fascinated or frightened in their encounter with the “Mahometans,” subsequently depicted them in dramas and epics, turning literature into a crucial venue for disseminating information and misinformation about the world of Islam. The Magharibi did not pursue such literary inventions, instead learning about the Europeans through personal stories and recollections—with all the revision, subjectivism, and dynamism that recollection entails. Once these differences in historiography are taken into account, microhistory will no longer appear to be a stepsister to macrohistory—and it will be possible to construct a coherent narrative about Arabic views of the lands of the Christians.

A few examples will suffice to demonstrate the efficacy of microhistory. After the battle of Wadi al-Makhazin there was extensive exchange between Portugal and other countries that were trying to ransom their captured soldiers from the Moroccan captors. The latter learned that the death toll in the battle had been so high that the population in Iberia had declined dramatically; bishops had subsequently permitted adultery and fornication among the people to increase the birthrate. Such information remained in circulation until it was recorded a century after the battle.[79] In this context, an important Magharibi medium for disseminating information about Europeans was the poetry of celebration. On the occasion of victory over, or defeat at the hands of, the *nasara*, writers composed poems that described the course of battles, the casualties, the tactics, and finally, the glorious ascendancy of the Muslim warrior or his captivity or martyrdom. Such oral recitations were memorized and repeated, and became the bases for the construction of national memory. After the battle of Wadi al-Makhazin, many poems praised al-Mansur and described the battle and the victory. Ibn al-Qadi mentioned the cooperation of the exiled Moroccan princes with the *nasara*, the number of the enemy soldiers (100,000), the death of King Sebastian of Portugal and Muhammad al-Mutawakkil of Morocco, and the glory of al-Mansur, the descendant of the Prophet. While there is no known Arabic contemporary prose account of the battle, Ibn al-Qadi's poem, along with numerous others that were recited and later transcribed in ‘Abd al-ʿAziz al-Fishtali's chronicle about the court of al-Mansur, *Manahil al-Safa*', provided the immediate listeners, as well as future generations of readers, with a Moroccan record of events. A hundred years later, after Mulay Ismaʿil had retaken Tangier from the British (), poems describing the sieges and battles were composed, memorized, and recited.[80] After the victory over the Spaniards in al-ʿArai'sh in 1689, the jurist Abu al-Mahasin al-Shudri al-Tetouani composed a poem of lines, describing the negotiations before the battle, the Sunday of the battle, the Christian captives who were later seized, and the *qissīs*/priest who negotiated on their behalf.[81] Doggerel such as this was popular in Magharibi culture, as it served in the consolidation of national history.[82]

Nearly every chronicle of the history of a Magharibi region contained orally transmitted poems that described the kinds of weapons used in a specific battle, the ammunition, the plans, the places where famous leaders were stationed, and what their swords, horses, and flags looked like. The poems told of events leading up to the battle: how the call for jihad had been sounded, how *talaba*/students and good Muslims had flocked from all regions to join the battle of jihad, how and when the battle site had been earlier occupied by the infidels, its place in the Christian-Islamic confrontation, and then the day, and even the hour, in which the battle occurred wherein the infidels had been defeated. When ships were built that were to serve in the jihad against the invading *kafirīn*/infidels, again poems such as those recorded in *Al-Kitab al-Bashī* by Hammūdah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1788) were circulated in Tunis in anticipation of victory.[83] After Morgan translated Ibrahīm Rabadan's treatise (which he had bought in Tunis on September 27, 1710, as he himself wrote on the manuscript),[84] he was stunned to hear some Tunisians "of both Sexes, sing, in Concert, whole chapters out of this Work, to the Sound of Lutes and Guitars."[85] After the Danish attack on Algiers in 1770, a song recorded *qissat dha al-bonba—kayf jabūha ʿadna*/the account of the bombing, which our enemies brought upon us—a song that remained in recitation until it was recorded:

> Listen, O people, to my song about what happened,
> The story of the infidels, known as Danes,
> May God destroy them and their ancestors.[86]

While print preserved information in Europe, the poetical/oral tradition preserved the historical and cultural record in the Maghrib until it was written down.

Throughout the region, in the Maghrib as in the Mashriq, there was a prosperous industry based around copyists, both men and women, and sometimes prisoners,[87] whose work ranged from producing illuminated copies of the Qur'an to religious commentary and travel accounts, and from reproducing court correspondence to *taqayīd*. These last were like broadsheets, describing battle attacks, the participants, and the course of events. On single sheets, sometimes giving two different accounts of a battle on the two sides of the sheet, anonymous writers opened with the *basmalah* and then told how Muslims had attacked presidios and fortresses (see translation #12). Additionally, and as was the case in contemporary Russia (which relied also on iconography), history was a function not only of national memory and narratives, as the *taqayīd* show, but also of objects and symbols. As late as 1682, ships in Algiers still carried the names of two Christian converts to Islam early in the century: "ye Danizker and Samsoone," recalling the heyday of Algerian seafaring;[88] and as long as al-ʿArai'sh was under Spanish control, the population wore black shoes; upon its reconquest in 1689 the people were told by Mulay Ismaʿil to wear yellow shoes. Even in the most remote parts of the realm, people knew about the military situation in the presidios and followed the news—and changed their shoes accordingly.[89] At the same time, the debate that Ismaʿil had with the jurist al-Yūsi regarding the victory over al-ʿArai'sh produced an exchange of letters that described to the general public the course of events, military as well as theological, that accompanied the defeat of the Spaniards and the captivity of more than twelve hundred residents of the outpost.[90]

Magharibi historiography relied on the vitality of oral continuity as well as on written reproduction. In Africa—both the Mediterranean basin and sub-Saharan Africa—there was a rich orality accompanied by a rich literacy.[91] Non-print communication and memory were not the less reliable because of their dependence on orality—as even print-trained historians confirmed after visiting North Africa. Other Magharibi wrote down those memories, whereupon authors prefaced their material by confirming the trustworthiness of their oral sources. Meanwhile, the tradition of *tawaatur*/ repetition with the same content, which had been used in the establishment of Islam's canon of prophetic hadith, widely served in the authentication as well as the dissemination of early modern information.[92] *Hadhihi al-akhbar tusaddiq ʿan dhalika al-makan wa-l-khabar mutawaatir ʿanhu*, wrote Ibn Abi Dinar (d. 1698) about a specific location in Tunis: this information validates [the information] about that location, and the information is validated by repetition.[93] Joseph Morgan confirmed how Algerian memory extended back for centuries:

> The Algerines bear still in Remembrance this Spanish Expedition [of 1558], and often talk of it. When, a few Days ago, I told the Envoy, that our News-Paper talked of the Spaniards intending to pursue their Conquest of Africa, and would march away to Algiers, his Excellency, with a disdainful Smile, asked me, "If they had a Mind for a second Maxagran Bout?"[94]

Although Morgan was writing in 1732, he was able to describe the role the English fleet had played in the fall of Oran in 1707, adding: "Of all which I say, I know nothing but from common Report in Barbary."[95] Hammūdah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1787) reported meeting a traveler from Yemen who had met a merchant from India who had praised ʿAli Pasha, the ruler of Tunis. Upon being asked how he knew about the Tunisian, the Indian replied that the Franks who traded between the Maghrib and his country brought all kinds of information "about the kingdoms they visited."[96] Al-Qadiri confirmed in his *Kitab Iltiqat al-Durar* that some of his information about European affairs came from eyewitnesses to the events he was describing.[97] Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Abu al-Qasim al-Zayani (1734–1809) wrote that he had learned about England from sea captains who had been sent there by the Moroccan ruler: the information had been orally communicated by Muslim merchants who were trustworthy and reliable.[98] The Arabic oral culture ensured the transmission of information from one region to another, and from one generation to another.

One area of contact and curiosity between the two sides of the Mediterranean was medicine. Fearful of diseases and epidemics, Muslim physicians exchanged cures and remedies, hoping that if they could help their European counterparts on one dire occasion, the Europeans would reciprocate on another. In July 1648, after the seventy-year-old father of Sīdi ʿAbdallah in Morocco developed an eye disease that needed surgery, a Moroccan delegation traveled to Amsterdam, where they interviewed the best doctors in the city in the hope of enticing one of them to perform the operation. When a surgeon reneged on his promise, the Moroccans appealed to the

Dutch court, with whose operations they had familiarized themselves, to force him to pay back the advance he had received. Upon their return home after spending summer and fall in the Netherlands, they reported all they had learned about the medical and legal practices of their host country.[99] A surgeon from Tangier, as the jurist Hasan al-Yūsi (d.1691) recorded, told his fellow doctors how he had met some *rūm*/Christian surgeons who had laughed at him for treating his patients with couscous. Later, the surgeon traveled across Bahr al-Rūm to the land of the Christians to visit one of those doctors; there, he found him giving wine to a patient with a high fever. Upon being asked why he was doing that, the *rūmi* doctor answered that wine would not hurt the patient because

> he has been drinking it since he suckled at his mother's breasts. So I exclaimed: "Glory be to God! So too have we suckled *couscous* at our mothers' breasts since we were children. Why should it hurt us?" He replied: "You are right," and he had nothing more to add.[100]

When ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Mu'min traveled to see a Jewish doctor in France and inquire of him about a cure for *al-habb al-ifranji*/syphilis, he saw no transgression in his quest, since the science of medicine was *mushtarak*—common to all peoples.[101] After a severe bout of *al-humma*/plague, in Tunis in the 1690s, Husayn Khujah (d. ca. 1732) wrote that he had traveled to "ard al-faranj"/the lands of the Franks in quest of cures for the deadly disease. He returned with quinine (*kīna kīna*) and wrote about his interactions with the European doctors he had met, not only in France but in Tunis too—where the number of "Frankish doctors [had] increased"[102] (see translation #17). Science and medicine were valuable means for communicating across the religious and military boundaries. How much did the early eighteenth-century Moroccan ambassador Cardenas and his retinue learn about surgery after an English physician "cutt, lanced, opend and strangely but dexterously handled in the method of cureing the Albuossor & Saratan or Cancer"? Or was it the English who learned from the Moroccans about hemorrhoids ("Albuossor") and the Arabic word for cancer, *saratan*?[103]

The shadow theater, too, contributed to the general fund of information about Europeans. This theater was popular in Egypt and other parts of the North African Mediterranean, especially after the arrival of the Moriscos, who reenacted scenes from their Spanish experience before their new coreligionists.[104] Theater was particularly instrumental in spreading images and news about European affairs to the illiterate segment of the population. A reconstructed text from a seventeenth-century shadow piece performed in Alexandria tells of a Moroccan who arrives from Venice to announce the imminent attack of the *nasara*. He tells the Muslims about the military forces that were preparing to attack them and calls on them to "break the army of the Christians, and destroy the walls" of their fortifications. Significantly, he alludes to European attacks that had been rebuffed and to territories that had been, by the early s, seized from them by the Muslims: "The lands of Cyprus and Algiers obey his [Muslim commander] order;/Send a letter to Rhodes, and all the Christians around,/The ships are ready to fight with two thousand soldiers."[105] How the puppets—were puppets being used in the nonrepresentational culture of Islam?—portrayed the Christians is not known, but they would have served to bring images of Euro-Christians to the center of the Islamic community. While these images depicted the Christians as adversarial, others showed them as farcical. The *Tragicomedie Prophetique des Affaires des Pays Bas* introduced the pasha of Tripoli in Syria to the paradoxes, rivalries, and slapstick of European affairs. In five acts, the actors burlesqued the relations between Spain and Holland, while alluding to the legendary Don Sebastian and to Britain's enmity to Spain. What the pasha made of this play is not recorded, but like other Muslim potentates around the Mediterranean, he would have learned about the intriguing, confusing, and perhaps amusing affairs of Europe.[106] Jerónimo de Alcalá showed in the second part of his *El Donado hablador* (1626) how a group of Spanish actors, seized to Algiers, performed a play about the rebellion of the Moriscos of Granada—a performance that so angered the pasha that he had them all put to death. Doubtless, their interpretation of the events, and possible denunciation of Islam, earned them martyrdom. For the Magharibi, who were not accustomed to theater, it may not have been possible to separate fiction from reality.[107]

Throughout the period under study, European kings and ministers often instructed their representatives to inform Muslim rulers about changes of alliances in Europe, so that the rulers and court officials would change their policies and reevaluate their strategies. Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur learned of the victory over the Spanish armada from the English merchants in Marrakesh, to whom he gave permission to celebrate. They built "bone-fires," as George Wilkins reported, and then went outside the city, where they organized themselves into a "gallant order," after which they came "backe into the Citty, in a triumphant and civuill manner, to doe honour to their Country."[108] Anti-Spanish sentiment was running so high in the city that an exultant mob of French, Dutch, and Moroccan men joined the English group and marched at the house of the Spanish representative/interpreter, intent on breaking into it. Later, forty jubilant English merchants in Marrakesh took to the streets, shouting and drinking, and carrying with them a large banner on which they had painted Queen Elizabeth triumphant over King Philip II. The Moroccans not only shared in European news but actually saw, possibly for the very first time ever, a picture of the English queen with her adversary under her feet.[109] For them, European affairs had become local matters of representation and celebration. This and other celebrations and communications provided the local populations with information about European rivalry, conflict, and victory.[110]

In surveying the microhistorical sources about Western Muslims' knowledge about Europeans, two sets of sources are prominent. Using the categories proposed by Edward Muir,[111] there are, first, popular sources about personal interactions with Christians in North Africa, especially accounts about captivity among Christians both in North African presidios and on the European Continent. Captives told, and wrote to, their compatriots, rulers, and kinsmen about their experiences among Europeans. From Tunis to Salé, and from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, many stories were told about captivity at the hands of *nasara*, producing a kind of *turath shaʿbi*/ popular tradition about Europeans as rapacious brigands, fanatical Catholics and (later) Protestants, and greedy soldiers—conquistadors who were enslaving and branding Muslims with the same violence with which they would enslave and sometimes brand the hapless American Indians.[112] Beside these were stories about Christian men and women who were deemed worthy of respect and admiration (see translation #18).

To deal with this material, I will adopt the method that Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak of the Subaltern Studies group have identified. The thousands of Muslim captives in Christendom did not constitute a "subaltern class" in the Marxist sense, but they did constitute a coerced community whose voice has not been heard in modern scholarship and whose accounts have not been investigated. These subalterns were not (yet) the colonized or the feminine other (as in Spivak's case), but men and women who were from "among the illiterate coastal inhabitants [peasantry], the villagers, the lowest strata"[113] of the Maghrib, as well as from higher social groups. In captivity, however, they found themselves behind the same oars or serving the same masters. Captivity leveled them all into helpless subalterns. Spivak maintained that such subalterns did not have a position from which to speak (although later she reevaluated her position): for her, the subaltern was speechless. But in the case of the Magharibi captives, these subalterns did speak: they spoke and wrote to their captors and pleaded, threatened, appealed, and petitioned. They also spoke and wrote to their compatriots about their conditions and whereabouts: they used many tones, told many tales, and constructed in the minds of their audiences many images. Sometimes they even spoke in verse that appeared in hagiography or in miracle accounts. The subalterns could not but communicate with each other —and communicate in their own language. In Arabic (as well as in translation), their voice can be heard, their experience captured, and their portrait of the *nasara* examined.

Second, there are elite sources about travel, and ambassadorial recollections, and European reports about those travels. While the European accounts about the Muslim travelers have to be approached cautiously, a few travel accounts were written in Arabic and conveyed accurate and reliable information, especially since their audience was nearly always the ruler and the courtier, the jurist and the scholar. The elite sources also include royal and *diwan*/court letters by and to Magharibi rulers. Some of the letters have survived in the original Arabic, while others are available only in translation. Those in translation need to be handled with care, as translators often admitted to difficulties in understanding “the Tongue and Strain as well as their actions,” as English agent Jezreel Jones wrote in 1703.[114] The deys of Algiers were particularly aware of the dangers of poor translation, and resorted to various strategies to ensure correctness, either by having letters translated in Algiers before they were sent overseas or by inveighing in the correspondence itself against the translator should he deliberately misrepresent their thoughts and intentions.[115] Still, the letters from the rulers and their courts help to situate Magharibi knowledge about Europeans in a historical context.

Both sources demonstrate the wide range of views in the Arabic Mediterranean about the *nasara* at the beginning of the European age of empire. These writings from that period of burgeoning European expansion are unique because they survived in the original form—the only documents that describe the European imperial age written by contemporaries in their native language. The translations in part II present the Christian West—Western Europe but not America—in the letters, autobiographies, travelogues, and hagiographies of eighteen Magharibi, one Armenian, one Frenchman (converted to Islam), and one Mashriqi. With the exception of Bentura de Zari’s and Thomas dʾArcos’s letters, all the selections survive in Arabic and include material that ranges from official communications and royal directives to personal memoirs and battle accounts. The authors were physicians and court scribes, anonymous scribblers and noted chroniclers, holy men and captives. Some accounts were written decades, even a century, after the events they described—attesting to the strong legacy of orality that kept information in circulation until it was written down. Others were letters describing contemporary crises or reflecting on

European or world history. The twenty selections present a kaleidoscope of the voices that defined the Euro-Christian world to the peoples of the Arab-Islamic Mediterranean at the beginning of Europe’s age of empire.

I. POPULAR SOURCES

Accounts of Muslim Captivity in Christendom

> *"How many of the [Muslim] captives remain unransomed? … How many women and their children have been captured, seized at night by those who do not know God?"*[1]

Western Muslims did not know what to call the first Europeans they encountered—except *salibiyyūn*/cross-bearers. When Europeans set their standards on African lands and fought Muslims in battle or bombarded them from their fleets, they exhibited the sign of the cross. Whether they were English or Spanish or Maltese, their national banners and individual insignia all bore what to Muslims was the most provocative symbol in Christianity, the cross (Saint George's red cross for the English, even on their commercial ships; the yellow diagonal cross of Saint Andrew for the Spaniards; and the white cross for the Maltese/Knights of Saint John).[2] Indeed, as Christopher Columbus had used a white and blue flag with a cross in the middle, along with a Latin motto invoking friends to follow "the Cross" in order to conquer,[3] so too did his successors in their attacks on North Africa. When Ahmad al-Mansur wrote to one of his tribes that had been fighting Spanish invaders, he praised the Prophet Muhammad for "strengthening the swords of Islam over the churches of the infidels and lowering the banners of the polytheists until the Day of Judgment."[4] The absence of a significant population of Arab Christians in the Maghrib (unlike in the Mashriq) grounded the encounter with the Europeans on exclusive religious and cultural grounds. Christians whom Western Muslims would have seen in the Ottoman Empire were integrated into the Muslim cities and quite different from the belligerent *salibiyyūn* with their military danger, crusader ideology, and imperial ambitions.

Although the Magharibi used phrases like *ahl al-salīb*/people of the cross, or ʿ*abadat al-salīb*/worshippers of the cross—phrases that had been widely used in the anti-Crusader Arabic literature of the medieval period—they became quite appropriate in describing the peoples of

Spain, Italy, and France, especially during the Counter-Reformation, when church symbolism and iconography became preeminent in worship, government, and military institutions. Other Arabic allusions also confirmed the religious character of the adversary and were harsh and antithetical: *mushrikūn* and *kuffar*/polytheists and infidels (both Qur'anic terms); and *ahl al-shirk* and *ahzab al-kufr*/the polytheists and the parties of unbelief. The Christians came from the land of human and divine natures/*dawlat al-uqnūm wa-l nasūt*, wrote Ahmad al-Mansur after his son's victory over the Spanish-supported invasion of Morocco in 1595.[5] Such allusions appear frequently in inter-Magharibi communication about the dangerous enemies who were invading and pillaging under the banner of the cross. For various sectors of the Magharibi populations, especially those on the seacoasts, the only Christians they knew were warriors. That was why many Arabic writers continued to express hostility to the Christians: the expressions *dammarahum*, *khadhalahum,* and *masakhahum Allah*/may God destroy them, may God withdraw His support from them, may God transform them into beasts often appear in biographies, histories, and chronicles.

The Magharibi had no Arabic equivalent for the term "Catholic" (later, it would be simply transliterated to signify the Christians of the Middle East who followed Rome). For the Christians who rejected the Catholic form of Christianity, the Marrakesh-based historian and Saʿdian court scribe ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Fishtali (d. 1621) used at the end of the sixteenth century the terms *latarīn* and *qalabīn*, Lutherans and Calvinists (see translation #2); Ahmad ibn Qasim, too, referred to the two Protestant reformers,[6] although the most knowledgeable about Christian groups and differences was, no doubt, Ahmet Ben-Abdela. The Moriscos had come in contact with Protestants/Huguenots and with anti-Catholic writings, as a result of which they learned about some of the differences between Catholicism and Protestantism: how Protestants detested the sacrifice of the Mass; how they rejected papal authority; and how they were in agreement with the Jews but not with the Catholics.[7] The word "Protestant" does not appear in any Arabic document of the Maghrib, although it appears in European translations of correspondence; whether or not it was originally used by the Turkish or Arabic writers cannot be determined.[8] Nearly all Magharibi writers knew that Protestants did not obey the pope or worship "idols," and when Ahmad ibn Qasim visited Rouen, he met a Huguenot judge who queried him on Islam's position regarding the merit that the Catholic Church claimed to impart to the dead souls in purgatory. He was pleased to discover that his own position coincided with the judge's—after which the two became friends.[9] At the end of the seventeenth century, the Moroccan ambassador al-Ghassani (d. 1707) mentioned that the English were known as *haratiqīn*/heretics to the worshippers of the cross.[10] His king, Mulay Isma῾il, thought the term a proper noun: “antum ma῾shar al-ricks”/you the *ricks* people (heretics), he confusedly wrote to the exiled James II as he invoked him to renounce Catholicism and turn to Protestantism (and better still, Islam).[11] The more the Magharibi interacted with the two Christianities, the more they learned about the differences.

With the growth of commercial and political relations between North Africa and Western Europe, and with the consolidation of Europe’s denominational and national boundaries, the Magharibi started using more-specific terms regarding the *nasara*. Only after the Europeans themselves began to identify more openly with their national rather than denominational/ religious affiliations did the Magharibi use national designations. From the late sixteenth century on, references begin to appear to *῾ajam*/Spaniards and *isbaniya* or *ishbaniya*, *ifranj*/French, *alman*/Germans, *burtuqal*/Portuguese or *bartaqīz*,[12] *estad* from the Spanish *estados* for the States General of the Netherlands, along with *iflamank*/Flemish, and *inglīz*/English. Ahmad al-Maqqari (d. 1631/1632) referred to *ifransa*/France as the source of the marble that Mulay al-Mansur used in the building of his palace,[13] while other writers alluded to *banu al-asfar* in connection with the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula. Toward the end of the seventeenth century *iflamank* replaced *estad* for the Dutch when William of Orange became king of England,[14] and in the eighteenth century there were references to *deen-mark* after the Danish fleet bombed Algiers, and to *al-moscow*. In his history of the world, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn abi al-Surur al-Warithi (b. 1676) mentioned *sweid*/Sweden, *nasma*/Austria [*sic*], and *hollanda*/Holland.[15] Simultaneously, terms such as Tunisian/*tunisi*, Algerian/*jaza᾽iri*, and Moroccan/*maghribi* from *al-Maghrib al-Aqsa* also began to be used. A consciousness of national identity was slowly emerging in North Africa.[16]

Although Western Muslims feared the Euro-Christian *harbi*/warrior, they appreciated the legacy of Christianity and those Christians in their protection—what the Qur’an had defined as *dhimmi*. It is to the credit of Magharibi religiosity that many writers showed awareness of difference between militant Euro-Christians who attacked them and non-belligerent *nasara*/*dhimmi.* Al-Tamjruti denounced the Christians who had perpetrated the Crusades, but commiserated with the Christian captives who were rowing his ship (see translation #3). Al-Zayati repeatedly distinguished in his *nawazil* between the Christians who were *dhimmi*, and therefore protected, and those who were *harbi*,[17] *awbash al-nusraniyah*, as Ibn Abi Dinar described them (see translation #13). The Magharibi were able to separate the enemy from the friend because their view of Christians was derived from the

Qur’anic representation of Christ. As in Turkish and central Asiatic Sufism,[18] Magharibi jurists and Sufis appropriated Mary and Christ into their religious culture, invoking the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad that told about “*sayyidna ʿIsa, ʿalayhi al-salam*”/our Lord Jesus, peace be upon him.[19] Jesus served as an inspiration to Muslims so much that mosques in North Africa were named after *al-Masīh*/Christ, showing how much the Islamic discourse redefined and co-opted the central figure in the Christian revelation. Many Muslims read Christian books, which they then employed in their theological reformulations. “I have seen some of the books of the People of the Book” and found them edifying, declared the author of the *Anwar al-Nabawiyah,* Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rafīʿ al-Andalusi, in Tunis in 1634, testifying to a common practice among his coreligionists.[20] Earlier, when Thomas Erpenius went to Morocco as part of a Dutch diplomatic mission, he took with him a copy of his Arabic translation of the New Testament, which Mulay Zaydan was so happy to receive that he “never ceased reading” it.[21] Some Moriscos integrated Christian material in their worship, including invocations to Jesus and Mary,[22] while others wrote anti-Catholic polemics in Spanish for their exiled coreligionists in North Africa—polemics that were not too different in argument and theological content from contemporary Protestant (and later Unitarian) polemics.

Many examples from the Maghrib show how Mary and Jesus evolved in Islamic piety as a result of direct influence from New Testament imagery, European narratives, or Muslim invention.[23] Christ played different roles in Western Islamic thought. It was he who motivated Muslims to jihad, as Ibn Yajjabsh al-Tazī stated at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Much as he feared and anathematized the Christian Europeans, al-Tazī still venerated the Prophet of the Christians. When ʿIsa/Jesus met Satan, he asked him: what is the best protection against you? “The neighing of horses in the cause of God,” he replied. “For I do not enter a house in which there is not a horse for God”/ *faras fī sabīl Allah*`.[24] Christ was also to inaugurate the Second Coming, as al-Tamjruti announced in 1591, the year that ended the first *hijri* millennium. After he proclaimed the Moroccan ruler, Ahmad al-Mansur, as the long-awaited *mahdi*, al-Tamjruti elaborated on how that *mahdi* would fill the earth with justice and how his rule would prevail as far as Constantinople, Antioch, where he would build mosques, and then Rome (see translation #3). At the end of time, ʿIsa, he continued, would join the *mahdi* and the two would fight and kill the *dajjal*, the Antichrist, at the gate of Lydda in the land of Palestine. The *mahdi* would then lead the people in prayer, with ʿIsa right behind him.[25] The jurist Ibn Raysūn (d. 1645) wrote about a man who claimed to have met Jesus in one of the souks of Cairo in the year A.H. 953/1546.[26]. We have heard, wrote the Tunisian Ahmad ibn Mustafa al-Hanafi, that "ʿIsa son of Mary, peace be upon him, will descend on his *hijra*/migration from heaven to the city of Medina which he will settle [*yastawtinuha*] until God, exalted and almighty, commands him otherwise." Jesus would be the first "Christian" to set foot in the holy city that is exclusive to Muslims.[27]

In the age of European expansion and exploration, only among the Muslims was Christianity seen as part of the "Islamic" legacy, and not as a foreign religion. While the indigenous peoples of South America saw Christianity as a Spanish religion, associated with all the devastations of the conquest, and as the Chinese and Indians viewed it as a Portuguese religion, introduced by gunship diplomacy, the Magharibi (along with Muslims elsewhere) had access to Christian figures in their own devotions and worship. ʿIsa and Maryam were Qur'anic and therefore Arabic and Muslim—not foreign and alien. That is why al-Hasan al-Yūsi could include Jesus in his moral teachings and treat him, as he did Aristotle or Alexander the Great, as part of the Islamic legacy. In one exemplum, al-Yūsi echoed Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale, modified to include ʿIsa, not unlike some medieval European analogues of the story:

> Three brigands killed a man and seized his gold. Two of them said to the third, "Go to the village and fetch us food." The two conspired to murder him upon his return. He returned with the food that he had poisoned and when he arrived, they killed him. Then they ate the food and died. Jesus, peace be upon him, passed by and saw all three dead around the gold. He said: This is what the world does to the worldly. And he left them.[28]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Joseph Morgan reported that many of the "Mountaineers" he had met in North Africa "have on their Faces, Hands, Arms, and Legs, Crosses, and other Marks of Christianity, for which they can give no Manner of Account."[29]

The appropriation of Jesus and sometimes of Christian saints was not confined to inter-Muslim writings and tattoos. Jesus was publicly hailed by Muslims, both in North Africa and in European capitals. There were Magharibi, wrote a French observer in 1682, who invoked in their prayers both Muhammad and Cidy Bellabec, "qu'ils disent estre Saint Augustin"/ whom they say is Saint Augustine.[30] Even Mulay Ismaʿil, who was often described by European observers as anti-Christian, included in his personal seal the name of "Cidy Naissa, & qu'ils [Moroccans] connoissent seulement pour un grand Prophete"/our lord ʿIsa whom Moroccans recognize as only a great prophet.[31] Ismaʿil was not against Christ, but against Euro-Christian invaders. In a letter to Colonel Kirke, the English governor of Tangier, Isma'il asked him to "testifie that our Lord Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and all other Prophets & messengers are servants of God and his Prophets and true messengers, let us believe what they have brought and make no difference between his messengers."[32] Christ, along with the other Abrahamic prophets, could serve to unite religio-military adversaries. The Algerian dey, Hajj Shaʿban (reg. 1689–1695) implored the French king Louis XIV in May 1690 to return Muslim captives "pour lʿamour de Jésus, de Marie et des Apôtres"/for the love of Jesus, Mary, and the Apostles. It was not unacceptable for the Muslim to invoke the names of Jesus and Mary in his political negotiations. Toward the end of the letter, he swore "pare les miracles de cent vingt-quatre Prophètes, pare les … versets et les orders contenus dans les quatre Livres descendus du siele et enfin par tous les Anges du Paradis"/by the miracles of 124 prophets … by the verses and laws contained in the four Books revealed from heaven, and finally, by the all the angels of Paradise.[33] In the address that the Algerian ambassador made to King Louis XIV a few months later, he prayed that the enemies of the king would be confounded by "la vertu des miracles de Jesus & de Marie"/the virtue of the miracles of Jesus and Mary.[34] And when Hajj Ahmad asked his ambassador to France to do all he could to bring the Muslim captives there home, he reminded him how both the Qur'an and "le saint Evangile, envoyé au Seigneur Jésus"/the holy Testament, sent by Lord Jesus, praised those who undertook such deeds.[35] In the early eighteenth century, Joseph Morgan attended a lecture by a "devout Moor" who called on his followers to imitate "the Immaculate Sidina Aisa, Roh Allah, (Adorations and Salutations be offered unto him)." In a footnote, Morgan explained the Arabic words: "Our Lord AISA (or Jesus) the Soul or Spirit of God; so they have it."[36] From ambassadors to rulers, jurists to rebels, and soldiers to Sufis, Muslims viewed Christ with a veneration that no Christian ever reciprocated about Muhammad. No European ever invoked in his address to Muslim potentates the virtue and miracles of Muhammad.

Since Jesus occupied a venerated position in the Islamic discourse (and discourse it is, as the Qur'an presents a Nestorian rather than a Nicene Jesus), then the followers of Jesus, despite their errors, occupied a unique status in Islamic theology and theocracy. As Muhammad ibn al-Tayyib al-Qadiri stated, because Christians and Jews believe in the "Book," they are assumed, by necessity, to believe in our Prophet who is prophesied in their Books.[37] Such an inaccurate view allowed, paradoxically, for latitude toward Christians, both in North Africa and in the Levant. In the Christian village of Bandik in Syria, women did not cover their faces, and the public bath was run by a Christian woman who hired Christian youths to do the work. I “wished them divine guidance to Islam,” wrote the Moroccan traveler Ibrahīm ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Khiyari in 1669, “for whenever I saw a man of a different religion from Islam, I invoked God to lead him to Islam.”[38] Alongside the desire to convert, there was the breadth to tolerate. As Abu al-ʿAbbas al-Qadiri was traveling on his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1692–1693, he passed through Egypt, where he came near “one of the monasteries of the monks … there are in it a kind of Christians who are devoted to worship, as their religion tells them. [They are so isolated] that they can only be reached from above, by means of a *quffa* [basket]. They cannot be reached without tremendous difficulty.”[39] The Christians were part of the world of the Muslims, especially the Christians whom the Qur’an had praised for their monastic piety and asceticism. Other Christians were part of the community with whom there was interaction and domesticity: the Algerian Sufi ʿAli ʿAzūz lived an ascetical life, having none to serve him except a Christian “sheikh” who welcomed his visitors.[40] The Tunisian author, al-Wazir al-Sarraj (d. 1731), recalled a popular story about a poor man who asked a Muslim judge for food. The judge refused. So he asked a Christian, who gave him more than he had wanted and promised to do that every month. That night the judge dreamed he saw two opulent palaces, and when he asked God to whom they belonged, he was told that they would have been his, but were now the Christian’s.[41]

Of course, theological latitude did not always lead to kindly treatment of Christians. Pirates, brigands, bigoted neighbors, and brutal rulers did not apply Islamic codes in their treatment of Christians, Jews, or indeed of their own Muslim coreligionists/subjects. Furthermore, Moriscos, bitter against Christians for expelling them from their homes and depriving them of their possessions, history, and children, fulminated against the “dogs.”[42] But no tradition or school of interpretation developed in Magharibi religious history that animalized the Christians and served as a prescriptive exegesis of specific Qur’anic passages for future poets, preachers, and jurists. While Christian writers pointed to the images of the Beast and of the Dragon in the Bible (the books of Daniel and Revelation) and applied them to “Mahomet” and “Mahometans,” no similar images were available to Muslims. Angry Muslim writers often called on God to destroy the infidels, but they did not subhumanize them because there was no exegetical Qur’anic tradition of animalizing the People of the Book on which authors could draw. The Christians—in error as they were, and feared as they were—were never portrayed as being outside the power and mercy of Allah. Still, it was not always easy for Magharibi and other Muslims to distinguish between *dhimmi* Christians and *harbi* Christians. The Christians of the Islamic empires paid a heavy price for the depredations of their European coreligionists because they were often accused, sometimes rightly but more often wrongly, of supporting the invaders. As a result, native or resident Christians were painted with the same brush as the aggressive Euro-Christians and suffered as a result—as for instance in the anonymous vitriol against Christians and Jews at the end of the seventeenth century, *Minhaj al-Sawab fī Qubh Istiktab Ahl-al-Kitab*/The Path to Truth in Abhorring the Employment of the People of the Book as Clerks. The author dredged up stories and sayings of earlier jurists who had denounced Muslim cooperation with Christians and Jews. "To employ Jews and Christians as clerks is to put them above the Muslims, which is a disaster to religion, and a great prohibition which should not be abolished."[43] He continued by showing the dangers that Euro-Christians had posed to Muslim lands and the devastations they had wrought on them.

Despite the anger against Euro-Christians, there were Christian merchants, residents, captives, entrepreneurs, and delegations in many Magharibi cities—which is why authors of religious rulings included entries pertaining to business relations with "the traders from among the Christians and the Jews in the lands of the Muslims."[44] The People of the Book were firmly situated within the most important foundation of the Muslim community: the Qur'an, which provided them with state protection and commercial security—so much so that in Ramadan 979/January 1572, two English merchants filed a suit in Marrakesh against a Jew and a Muslim, demanding the repayment of debt.[45] Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur brought European builders and craftsmen to help in the construction of his palace, al-Badī', and his fleet. He also hired a Spanish merchant to conduct commercial transactions: the Venetian secretary in England reported that the Spaniard had "been living in Morocco for many years, not as a foreigner, but as a well-known subject of the King."[46] Al-Tamjruti noted in 1591 that there were Christians (French) who were living as *dhimmi* in Tunis, "collecting coral"[47]—and they not only would continue to do so until their eviction in the 1640s, but would reestablish themselves in 1670. At the end of the sixteenth century there was a neighborhood in Tunis that was predominantly Christian,[48] and Ramadan Bey of Tunis, who was the son of a Christian captive, built a church near the Medina Door of Carthage, in memory of his mother[49]—at a time when there was no mosque that was under construction, or that had remained standing, anywhere in Western Christendom. In *Manaqib al-Akhawayn*, Ibn Raysūn recalled how often Christians and Jews went to him for incense, which they used over children and over their sick—who were subsequently cured. He was surprised and told them to consult their own rabbis and doctors, but they replied that he was more learned and reliable.[50] In 1636 the Algerian admiral Muhammad ibn

ʿAbdallah left some of his inheritance to a Christian woman, and by the second half of the seventeenth century, the inhabitants of Algiers, wrote the geographer John Ogilby, were Muslims who were "here and there mingled with Christians."[51] After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, some of the Huguenots who left France settled in Santa Cruz, Safi, Tetouan, and elsewhere in North Africa; by there were so many (unruly) Frenchmen in Algiers that King Louis XIV had to send le sieur Dortières "pour ètablir l'ordre et la police nécessaires parmi les marchands Francais qui y trafiquent ou qui y sont *domiciliés*" (emphasis added)/to establish order and to police the French merchants who trade or who live there.[52] In a letter of November 5, 1699, and after listening to an ambassador's description of the grand buildings in France, Mulay Ismaʿil wrote the French king Louis asking him for architects and expert masons and promising to reward them handsomely for working in his dominions.[53] During the reign of Queen Anne, the chieftain of Aghadir reported that his emissary to her was a "Merchant John Freuille an English man having been here in this Country about twenty years merchandizing by which he hath acquired a plentiful Estate."[54] At the same time, a "handsome Church, Convent, and Hospital" provided assistance to the Christian community of traders and captives in Tripoli, as did a "Convent of Spanish Friars" in Meknes.[55] In 1705 there were technicians in Morocco (from England and Dramstadt) helping to build Ismaʿil's military forces in preparation for a joint Anglo-Moroccan campaign (as the French press feared),[56] and in 1712 a French monk felt safe enough to apply for a residence permit in the Moroccan capital of Meknes.[57] By 1720 les sieurs Bourguet had been resident in Tunis "depuis vingt-cinq à vingt-six ans"/for twenty-five to twenty-six years.[58]

It is because of Islam's theological and social latitude that there were Euro-Christian and native Christian travelers and settlers among the Magharibi of the early modern period. The Maghrib had a wide range of European immigrants, mercenaries, hired laborers, pirates, converts, and traders—all of whom brought to the Magharibi population a wealth of information and intelligence about Christendom. As a result, the Magharibi populations grew to know Euro-Christians better than Euro-Christians knew them. It is true that in the early modern period, there were more publications in Europe about the world of Islam than there were writings in Dar al-Islam about the lands of the Christians. But because of Islam's willingness to tolerate Christians, as *dhimmi* or *musta'man*, large numbers of Europeans resided among Muslims, and therefore many Muslims actually came to know the manner of their dress, eating habits, family dynamics, social character, even their burying customs. There was a French cemetery in Tunis as early as the mid-1650, and the gravestones that can still be seen in the yard of the Anglican church in Tunis record the names and professions of Englishmen who had died there. Even as *harbi*, especially after they settled in bastions from Santa Cruz to Oran, Euro-Christians became known to many tribal families that defected and joined them to the point that, especially in Algeria, they sometimes intermarried with them. Throughout the period under study, Magharibi men and women, jurists and Sufis, rulers and customs officials saw and interacted with European residents and settlers on a regular basis and learned about them firsthand, not, as in the European tradition, from books written with varying ideological, political, and religious agendas. From Maʿmoura to Tetouan and Tunis, and farther east, in cities such as Alexandria, Izmir, Istanbul, Aleppo, Isfahan, and Aghra, more Muslims came to see, speak, and cohabit with Euro-Christians than the other way around.

One of the most extensive sources of information about European Christendom derived from the poems, anecdotes, recollections, biographical entries, and letters of Magharibi captives. This Arabic *corpus captivitis* of the Maghrib is unique in providing the only early modern reaction to the European imperial project by the "natives" who witnessed and endured the consequences of that project. Along with the Ottoman pirates and prisoners of war who left accounts of their captivity among Europeans,[59] the Magharibi were the first to record their experience of enslavement in their own language. They were the first conduits of reliable cultural, religious, and military information to their North African communities because they were the first Arabs to experience the homes and gardens, galleys and slave markets of the European *nasara.* In the same way that the published captivity accounts in London, Paris, and Madrid served to inform Europeans about the world of the Muslims,[60] so did the anecdotes, tales, and memories of the Muslim captives serve to describe the world of the Christians. These memories were forged in the encounter of captive and captor and of Islam and Christianity—in zones where each of these religions was defending its frontier. Muslims feared not only the captors but also the Christian culture that could overpower them. While their societies had built strong defenses against the penetration of that culture—by means of language and religious concepts of identity—individuals were less able to ward off acculturation, especially after they were weakened and made vulnerable by captivity.

From the pens and voices of captives, from all around the Mediterranean basin and northward to Britain, the *corpus captivitis* came into being in a multitude of dialects and forms.[61] It included references to solitary as well as to communal captivities, to brief captivities as well as to extended enslavements: indeed, some of the narratives were penned by captives who had spent so many years in European countries that upon their return to their homes, they acquired epithets to their names that revealed transformed personalities and characters: *al-burtughali*/the Portuguese or *al-siqilli*/the Sicilian.[62] As Robert I. Burns has shown, captivity, and its twin sisters, piracy and privateering, sustained the "interface between Islamic and Christian societies—a point of regular contact for all classes."[63] But the "cultural history of Arab-Muslim slaves and captives in Western Europe" has not been "studied thoroughly," neither in the medieval period, as P. S. van Koningsveld has pointed out,[64] nor in the early modern period.

One of the reasons for this lacuna is the nature of the allusions to captivity that have survived in the Arabic sources. Approaching those sources after reading English, French, or Spanish captivity narratives provides a limited understanding of the Muslim experience and of the paradigm that lay behind it. European captives were "public" in their accounts, openly describing their suffering and humiliation, and sometimes the North African regions in which they had been held. Their paradigm was investigative, confessional, dramatic/melodramatic, and, often, longish. From the last quarter of the sixteenth century, autobiographical accounts were published on a regular basis, providing readers and audiences with grimly vivid stories of survival among the "Mahometans." There were also plays and novels about torture and degradation, sometimes fictional, sometimes semi-historical, so much so that within a century, there was an established corpus of captivity accounts, original and imitative, which European societies read in their native languages as well as in translation. An image of the suffering Christian in the hands of the cruel Barbary Corsairs (accompanied on various occasions by illustrations of whippings, hard labor, and bastinados) permanently inscribed in the imagination of Euro-Christians the horrors of early modern Muslims. Paintings of captives and heroic priests attempting to ransom them became icons of devotion and piety in private chapels, as well as in cathedrals and monasteries.

The Magharibi *corpus captivitis* followed a different paradigm from its European counterpart. Arabic writers did not produce grand accounts of their or their compatriots' captivity, nor did they offer graphic descriptions of beatings, humiliations, or tortures, as in many European accounts, or include pages upon pages about the general rapaciousness, brutality, and greed of the *nasara*. Rather, they alluded to, or briefly recounted, stories and episodes of captivity and/or escape. Such brevity was not a result of indifference to the violence of the European captors. Autobiographical writing in classical Arabic literature, which continued well into the period under study, followed conventions of style and narration that neglected personal aspects:

authors did not write about their private experiences because they believed them not useful to their readers.[65] Al-Hasan al-Wazzan, taken captive by Italian pirates in the summer of 1518, wrote nothing about his experience of capture and enslavement. The emphasis in Arabic writings was on themes that confirmed the sense of belonging to the community and to the larger group—which is why many proverbs in both Arabic and Spanish (Morisco) from that period express fear of captivity: “April is a long month, that leaves no food in the pouch, and turns the hair of the captive white.” “Luck is in three things, [a good] marriage, [avoiding] captivity, and crossing the sea [safely].”[66] Instead of a lengthy account, a proverb succinctly, and orally, evoked the terror of Christian abduction. People so feared captivity that it dominated their dreams. The jurist Abu al-Hasan ibn Hassūn al-ʿAbdali reported how his community members screamed in their sleep as they saw the Christians hauling them away. Captivity stories and memories were the subject of nightmares.[67]

Also, Magharibi writers did not have, like their European Christian counterparts, the theological imagery (and vast iconography) of a suffering Christ whose pain the captive was willing to emulate—and to describe to others. They did not have a theological legacy where torture, humiliation, and defeat/crucifixion were part of the victory over the wicked. Captivity was not a matter in and by itself, revealing personal tribulation leading to salvation and “redemption” (an apt term used in the liberation of Christian captives), but part of the larger narrative of the Muslim in his submission to Allah. Captivity was God’s will, and every Muslim had to accept it and not make too much of it. It was an episode in Allah’s mysterious destiny for His followers, and His followers had to submit without trying to turn themselves into heroes. When Ahmad ibn Ghanim recalled his captivity in the preamble to his book about artillery and firearms, *Kitab al-ʿIzz wa-l Manafiʿ*, he mentioned it only briefly, and then went on to a lengthy text about guns and cannons.[68] The Arab-Islamic paradigm of captivity writing was “private,” more allusive and coded than expository. Such was its status in written texts, but in the oral tradition it developed into a narrative that was remembered for generations. Captives told their stories, but were reluctant to write them: once a trader returning from captivity in France or a sailor from England or a doctor from Italy told his story, it attached itself to the public domain of traveling orality, confirming thereby the danger of the *nasara* and articulating national and religious identity. That is why the *corpus captivitis* that developed from the oral narratives included not only the stories of the victims who wrote or told about their experiences but also accounts from a wide spectrum of society, ranging from ambassadors who feared it to jurists who had to devise *nawazil*/*fatawa* to deal with it. The *corpus captivitis* records the voice of early modern Muslims who have more often than not been ignored, and brings this hitherto “lost” source of information into the historical evidence about the Christian-Islamic encounter at the beginning of the age of European empire.

THE CAPTIVES “SPEAK”—AND WRITE

The largest unit of material in the Magharibi *corpus captivitis* consists of letters. The letters had three types of addressees:

1. Families and friends to whom captives described their suffering
2. Captors to whom captives pleaded for mercy, or threatened with retaliation and vengeance
3. Coreligionist rulers and ransomers to whom captives appealed for help and relayed military and logistical information

These sources show how much the captives wrote about the Europeans to their communities.

TO FAMILIES AND FRIENDS

It is safe to assume that captives from among sailors and seamen and soldiers were not very literate, beyond perhaps having the ability to sign their names. But captives from among merchants, courtiers, and clerics were educated and could write to their families and rulers about their conditions. “Il y a de nos frères Musulmans dans les galères de France,” wrote the dey of Algiers to King Louis XIV on February 17, 1675, “qui écrivent continuellement ici à leurs parents”/There are those from among our Muslims brothers in the galleys of France here who write continually to their parents.[69] These captives told about their individual conditions, as well as about those of their friends and fellow captives, and pleaded for help from their families, even to the point of trying to shame them for not having sufficiently exerted themselves in liberating them. At the same time, and to make themselves useful, they reported about the ploys and maneuvers that the captors used to keep them in captivity and delay their release.

In May 1682, Muhammad ibn Haydar, nephew of ʿAli Maʿnīno (the name suggesting a European origin) sent a letter to ʿAli Merchek in Salé. Muhammad was a captive in France, who, along with other captives, including the son of ʿAli Maʿnīno, had been awaiting ransom. Having had access to various channels of information, both from among fellow captives and from the captors, he learned that the negotiations had been unsuccessful. Muhammad opened his letter with salutations to his parents, after which he reminded them that while they led a happy life, he was enduring cruel torments, beatings, and the continuing pain of rowing in the galleys. He mentioned how three captives had already died and how the ambassador, Muhammad Temīm, had been deceived by those "chiens de Francois"/French dogs. He warned his recipients about French dishonesty: after the Algerians returned all French captives, the French delayed returning the Algerian captives for two years, for no reason whatsoever, which is why the Algerians had declared war on France (in October 1681). The Tunisians, continued Muhammad, were in the same situation: their ambassador, Baba Ramadan, who had arrived in Marseilles in December 1681, returned in May 1683 without being able to take the Tunisian captives back with him. Muhammad, who had learned of the war that had been waged by Mulay Ismaʿil against the Turks in Algiers, regretted that Ismaʿil, who was a descendant of the Prophet, was turning away from fighting the infidels to fighting fellow coreligionists. In the margin, Muhammad mentioned a captive, one Sid Ahmed from Damascus, who had been like a brother to him. He begged that when a list of Moorish captives was drawn up, the Damascene's name be added to it as an act of charity to a boy, "avant la puberté"/prepubescent. He also mentioned another Damascene, Ahmad, son of ʿAbd al-Rahman: along with those two, there were also two other captives who always prayed to return to their home countries. The latter two, he concluded, needed help and intercession because they were short of money.[70]

The survival of the letter in a French translation shows that it had been read and monitored by the French authorities. This was a letter that was intercepted and therefore may not have found its destination —or else it was intercepted, translated, and then sent off. The letter shows how much captives knew about the situation in the country of their captivity and the military state of affairs in North Africa; it also describes the horror of captivity. Another letter by an Algerian captive describes the savage treatment that he received at the hands of his owner of three years. Rayyes Bībi, a daring captain from Algiers, was captured to Majorca, where a woman used to chain him at night and deny him opportunity to pray. In very poor Moroccan Arabic, he wrote a grim letter to his family on September 3, 1692, describing his condition and invoking God for help: "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate. Praise be to God alone, He is Lord, and God's peace on the Prophet of God. This letter is to those whom God had blessed, who enjoy His grace, and those who are happy in the world."[71] A quarter of a century later, in September 1716, Sicilian seamen seized 159 Muslims, with 26 of their wives and children, after the French ship on which they were traveling sprang a leak, forcing them to seek shelter in Syracuse. In the letter written in January 1717 by the captives to the Algerian ruler, the captives described what the Sicilians did to them after capture:

> They divided us into two Companies, confining us for two Moons in separate Castles. At present we are all together pent up in a House, and our Names, Rank, and Country registered. Such as can afford a good Ransom, will remain here; but such as are poor, will be shortly sent to the Gallies.[72]

By May they were still in captivity, as the letter sent by Mustapha, the bey of Tunis to Le Comte de Toulouse shows; in August they were still in Sicily, "prisonniers et maltraités"/prisoners and badly treated.[73] Four years after they had been captured, in April 1720, the French king ordered their release, as a result of which the bey sent him a present of Arabian horses.[74]

On some occasions captives received letters from their kinsmen, discouraging them from despair—and urging them to resist both the temptation and the force that the captors used to make them renounce their religion. Ibrahīm ibn Ahmad wrote to his nephew Qasim al-Hammūd in "the city of Paris, may God destroy it, a captive of the ʿ*ilij*/ruffian ʿAbd al-Wahab" to inform him how happy he was to receive his letter and learn that he was still alive and had not drowned. With numerous invocations and Qura'nic allusions, he begged him to be patient in his tribulation, to pray five times a day as frequently as he could, even if he prayed only in intent, and to fast during Ramadan. The uncle assured the nephew that all efforts were being made to ransom him and bring him back to his children and to his wife, who was staying in al-ʿArai'sh with their daughter.[75] From France, the captive had told his relatives all about the temptations of the *nasara*; and from al-ʿArai'sh, his relatives had written to him all about the fortitude of belonging. The more captives were exposed to the world of the Europeans, the more they were admonished to cling to their heritage, religion, and family. Captives and their kinsmen knew that captivity exposed the Muslim to the danger of conversion, which completely changed him. To convert was not only to move from Islam to Christianity but also to move culturally from a Muslim name and attire to Christian nomenclature and dress code. It also entailed a change of diet: the convert would become exposed to *haraam* foods such as pork and at the same time would lose access to ingredients native to his geo-religious region. To convert to Christianity entailed a conversion from goat meat to beef, from couscous to bread, from water to wine.

Large numbers of captives found themselves slaves in England or

France, and then sold off into Spain or Italy or Malta. They were exchanged and bargained over among the various European powers, and moved from one seaport to another and from one country to another. In these movements, they discovered how their freedom depended on the financial and banking links that tied the shores of southern Europe to northern Africa, and on banknotes that traveled between Marrakesh and Leghorn, Malta, Istanbul, and Plymouth. The captives witnessed the operations of international exchange as they awaited ransomers who negotiated for them, whether Muslims or Christians, Jews or renegades. It was a Greek merchant from the Morea who arranged for the liberation of ʿAisha, the captured sister of Hajj Muhammad of Tunis, from the island of Kefalonnia, for the sum of three hundred pieces of eight, which were to be paid upon her safe return.[76] Another Greek ransomer, Jacomo, worked for thirty-six years between the European and North African cities.[77] Other ransomers had easy access to seaports and cities from London to Venice and from Cadiz to Valetta, where they accumulated commercial and logistical information about Europeans, which they passed on to North Africa.[78]

Ransomers asked captives to write to them about their conditions and about the political climate of the country in which they were held. The *fakkak*/ransomer (pl. *fakkakīn*) traveled safely between the numerous slave markets of the Mediterranean, building contacts and familiarizing himself with languages, customs, and political and military conditions. Such ransomers needed all the information they could get about the people with whom they were negotiating, and realized that the most reliable source for such information would be the captives themselves. In 1615 the brother of Yusuf Musulmani, a governor in Mount Lebanon, was seized by the Maltese and enslaved on the island, where he wrote about his experience and "all that he had learned about the country."[79] At the end of the century, the Moroccan *fakkak*/ambassador ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAisha wrote to coreligionist captives in France, asking them to "tell us about all that you learn about this people [the French] and all that you hear about their plans—where they intend to send their ships and men-of-war, and do not ignore anything [*wa la tughayibū ʿanna shayʾan*]."[80] The ransomers, on their way to Paris, needed to learn of the power of their negotiators. Captives were a valuable source of information.

To Captors

Another group of writings was addressed by captives to their captors. An Algerian slave complained from Marseilles to the sea captain about the lies he and his fellow slaves were fed. "We are told after this campaign liberty, and this liberty never comes," he wrote in July

1681.[81] In 1699 ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAisha wrote a moving letter to J.- B. Estelle on behalf of unliberated captives. “If you come to visit our country,” he wrote,

> please bring with you a present of a few Muslim captives, foremost among them Muhammad al-Sammar whose brother, Qasim, was with us [in France during an ambassadorial visit]. Upon my return here, his old mother, aged and blind, came to me pleading, day and night. I had, in your presence, urged our friend [Jean] Jourdan to help in this matter and he had promised that I would not see the face of any of the factors except with this captive. I have not heard from him regarding this matter nor any other…. I hereby charge you with this [captive’s] affair and we are not to see you except if you bring one of the captives, Muhammad being the foremost; and if two, he would again be the foremost; and if more, he would be the foremost. We will not accept any excuse in his regard, for I have seen what happened to his brother when we were among you. Today, I am here with his mother who is in great sorrow, and what help you show him will ensure for you our friendship and commitment.[82]

A letter from a certain ʿUthman ibn Qasim to Le Comte de Pontchartrain in Paris on November 1, 1707, confirms that Europeans, in this case the French, did not differentiate between nationalities. All Muslims made good captives, regardless of their national origin and the state of affairs between the captive’s country and France (see translation #15). Another letter by ʿUthman written shortly after to King Louis XIV describes the plight of his fellow captives in Marseilles. Having written on his own behalf, he turned to write on their behalf too. What is interesting about this letter is the sense of agency that ʿUthman felt, despite captivity. He complained how the attendants had been cruel to them and threatened that if the king did not address their injustice, he would communicate to Mulay Ismaʿil and the governors of Algiers and Tripoli so they would be cruel to the Christian merchants and captives there. “We will write to our country so they take revenge for us. Thus we tell you.” He explained to the king what had happened, reminding the king that their condition in Christian captivity was not unlike the condition of his subjects in Muslim captivity. In an addendum, and as a blunt reminder/threat, ʿUthman added:

> Know, sīdi, that you have consuls in all Muslim cities, along with Christian traders and priests living there, too. Nobody interferes with the abject Christian captives. If one captive dies and leaves

> behind him some possessions, the priests look after his affairs for their church. They give alms to the poor among the captives in Algiers and nobody bothers them—neither the Sultan nor the Turkish governor nor anybody else. Here they took our possessions unjustly and this is not acceptable to the sultanate. Peace.[83]

Muslim captives were aware that there were Christian counterparts in Muslim lands. And what they desired was that they be treated the same way the Christians were. Evidently they believed Christians were better treated than they. At the same time, having been sailors and traders, they knew the importance of their countries to European commerce and wealth. Despite being helpless and vulnerable, they did not feel powerless: they were still connected to their communities, and could complain to their rulers about their treatment in captivity. If they were to be abused, they would make sure that the Christian captives would also be abused. They would also make sure that commercial cooperation would be reduced—or at least hope that their rulers would threaten such reduction. Captivity taught captives to enunciate their needs and fears, and to address or confront their captors either in the captors' own language or through translation.

TO RULERS AND RANSOMERS

The third category includes accounts and letters by captives to their rulers, or others in positions of authority. Some rulers relentlessly labored to effect the liberation of fellow Muslims from among the Europeans. The Tunisian ruler, Abu Fares ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, used to ask Christian merchants to bring him every Muslim captive they found: he then took money from the *bayt al-mal*/treasury and redeemed them, the young for sixty to seventy dinars, and the aged for forty to fifty.[84] An August 1486 letter from Granada mentions the names of two *fakkakīn*, Saʿd ibn Yahya al-Jinaq and Muhammad ibn Hussein al-Faqīh, who were preparing to pay five *rotls* of pure silk for the release of the captive Ahmad ibn Ahmad al-Busti, and concludes with the signatures of the two witnesses, an Arab (the vizier Muhammad ibn ʿIsa) and a Spaniard.[85] Ibn al-Qadi (d. 1616) reported about Mulay al-Mansur that he "redeemed numberless captives from the lands of the infidels and the island of al-Andalus and elsewhere,"[86] although the jurist Radwan al-Janawy accused him of slacking in his responsibility (see translation #1). Still, to his credit, al-Mansur redeemed not only Muslims but others who were residing in his kingdom as well. In 1597 he wrote to Queen Elizabeth, asking her to effect the release of a nephew of a

Florentine merchant who was based in Morocco and who had been captured in Cadiz.[87] Al-Mansur also ransomed Jews who were in his *dhima*—subjects under him. “He redeemed from captivity a Jew held in Malta,” and he never turned down a Muslim or a Jew who came to him asking for a Christian captive in order to exchange him for a captured relative. Al-Mansur was reported by Ibn al-Qadi as saying in one of his court sessions that whoever needed a captive should go to him and he would provide him with one and help him in the exchange.[88] That is why Jews celebrated al-Mansur’s victory at Wadi al-Makhazen in 1578 as a “purim.”[89] A century after the death of Ahmad Khūjah of Tunis, the bey was still remembered for his “bounty to captives … and his liberation of slaves, for the sake of God.”[90]

In April 1682 ʿAbd al-Haq Maʿnīno was released from captivity and sailed with letters from the other captives in the company of the French ambassador who was sent to see Mulay Ismaʿil. Among the nearly one thousand captives, a few wrote to the Moroccan ruler begging him for help and describing the conditions of other slaves in the French galleys. Again the letters have survived in a French translation, attesting to official vigilance. After praising Ismaʿil and invoking God’s protection for him and his dynasty, the captives described the great misery that they endured at the hands of “ces chiens de Francois”/ those French dogs: hunger, nakedness, beatings, chains, curses against Islam and the Prophet, and the horrible suffering of rowing. They added that because of his love for the captives, he, Ismaʿil, had sent an ambassador to the French king, but that when the ambassador arrived, the captives were all sent out to sea in the galleys, excepting the old who were incapable of rowing and were therefore kept in prison. The captives pleaded with Ismaʿil not to let them stay under the power of those “chiens infidelles”/infidel dogs and mentioned that they had written to the Algerians, the Tunisians, and the Turks for help, but that all these people ransomed their own nationals only. They concluded by begging Ismaʿil to deliver them from “l’etrange misere”/ misery of strange [lands] and reminded him how God rewarded those who were charitable to the helpless and needy.[91]

In most cases, there is little information about the captives beyond what the letters tell us, but in the case of rich and well-connected captives, more information survives. As in European liberation of captives, so in Magharibi liberation: for the rich and powerful, the Mediterranean became accessible to Christian-Islamic transactions as rulers intervened personally to bring the captives home. Still, it took Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Qadi, the scribe of Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur, a whole year before he was released and returned to Marrakesh. His story shows the extent of public and governmental involvement in his redemption, and the complex level of negotiation and bargaining that took place among the Moroccans, the Maltese, and the Spaniards. Fortunately, a record of the episode was kept not only by members of the Marrakesh court but also in the verse which Ibn al-Qadi himself wrote during his captivity.

As he was traveling from Tetouan to Egypt, in pursuit of learning, as he said, Ibn al-Qadi was captured by Maltese pirates who, on Thursday, July 31, 1586, took him to their island. He was, as he wrote later in his memoir, in "great distress as a result of hunger and cold, unendurable things, beatings and other indescribable tortures—may God almighty defeat them/*qaharahum Allah*."[92] Although he did not write more than a few lines about his humiliation in an otherwise long tome in praise of al-Mansur, he composed numerous verses from his captivity. His poems, both those addressed to his wife and those addressed to his ruler, reached Ahmad al-Maqqari, who recorded them in his *Rawdat al-Aas*—his collection of biographical sketches of distinguished men whom he had "met in Fez and Marrakesh." To his wife, who asked him about his condition, Ibn al-Qadi wrote:

O Mother of Pride [Umm al ʿIzz], my eyelids droop for parting with you
Not tears but blood runs down my face, as my sorrows grow,
My disaster is in the loss of kin and country.[93]

And just as European captives invoked their rulers and kinsmen, so did Ibn al-Qadi invoke his ruler for help:

All the worries that the suffering and shackled captive, and which have spread in every joint of his body have dispersed,
Upon mentioning the Hashemite Imam whose visage is higher than the best of men.[94]

After nine lines of further praise to Ahmad al-Mansur, Ibn al-Qadi presented his plea:

Help, O Imam of justice, a helpless captive, [who is like] a bird with a broken wing;
The hands of time have torn his veins, and the circles [of his enemies] have closed in on him,
And fate has attacked him from all sides, and disasters have pounded him with their feet.[95]

As soon as Mulay Ahmad learned about what had happened to Ibn al-Qadi, he ordered his sea captains to search for him "in the lands of the infidels—as a result of which the infidels—may God humiliate and destroy them—were awed and envious that a king from among the Muslims should show such great justice."[96] Because of the royal attention given to their captive, the pirates became "greedy" and raised the ransom price to twenty thousand ounces of gold, which the king generously paid. After "great effort," Ibn al-Qadi was released on 17 Rajab 995/June 23, 1587, as he himself recorded, and proceeded to Marrakesh, which he reached on July 14, 1587. He then told al-Mansur about his eleven-month ordeal and his impressions of the Christians.

Ibn al-Qadi's story reached the ears of al-Fishtali, a fellow scribe at the Marrakesh court, who proceeded to write down an account of the contacts with the Europeans and the arrangements that were made in both Morocco and Spain to effect Ibn al-Qadi's release. Upon being captured, wrote al-Fishtali, Ibn al-Qadi sent a letter to Mulay al-Mansur "from the land of the enemy" pleading for help. He also wrote to his brother in Fez, Muhammad ibn al-Qadi, who took a delegation to Marrakesh to plead before al-Mansur. The latter assured him that he would work toward the release of his brother, and wrote to the governor in Tetouan and to a wealthy merchant there, telling them to do everything possible to effect Ibn al-Qadi's release. The captors became greedy and sent the Qadi family a Christian weapons craftsman in Badis and servant of the "tyrant of Castile"/Spain. The emissary asked that Ibn al-Qadi be exchanged for his son, who had been captured in the battle of Wadi al-Makhazin; he also asked for a large sum of money, which al-Mansur generously gave. The Qadi family took the Christian captive to Fez and from there to Tetouan to meet with the father at the appointed time for the exchange.[97] Two weeks after he was released, Ibn al-Qadi returned to Marrakesh.[98]

The story of Ibn al-Qadi's captivity and ransom was told and retold, and two centuries later Muhammad ibn al-Tayyib al-Qadiri quoted Ibn al-Qadi's verse as he recalled the captivity in his *Nashr al-Mathani*.[99] Stories endured and traveled all across the region, which is why they sometimes became interchangeable from one person to another. Ibrahīm Zuwari, wrote Ibn ʿAyshūn (d. 1697), was captured and sold to a priest. One night, while he was on the house rooftop, three men appeared and told him that they had come to release him from "the land of the infidels." They did, and transported him to Tunis.[100] Evidently, Ibn ʿAyshūn borrowed this story from an account about another captive: the famous jurist Abu al-Mahasin was bought by a *qissīs* who took him to his house but did not order him to do anything. The *qissīs* told him that he had bought him because he had smelt in him the fragrance of Sufism. Abu al-Mahasin discovered that the *qissīs* was a Muslim who was hiding his Islam. Then, one night, as Abu al-Mahasin was sleeping on the roof, three men appeared and told him that they were there "to take him out of the land of infidelity"—which they did, to the Maghrib.[101]

Captivity left a long trail of narratives and narrators describing the *nasara* and their world. In various voices, and to various audiences, local and foreign, at home or abroad, captives "spoke" about the *nasara*, about themselves, and about their losses. "Nous allons maintenant," opens the only full-length autobiography of a Muslim captive from Turkey, "vous conter nos aventures innombrables"/We are now going to tell you about our numberless adventures.[102] While some of the surviving Magharibi stories and accounts consisted of the direct voice of the captive, others were ventriloquized. Still, the documents provide descriptions of personal experiences and encounters that show Muslim captives and petitioners not as constituted or recuperated in a European text, but as offering their own testimonies. Furthermore, and having spent months or years in Christendom, the writers provided their reading and listening audience with the first descriptions in Arab-Islamic history of forced separation from the *umma*/religious community, the tensions and uncertainties of immersion in a foreign and different civilization, and the images that were subsequently formed and remembered about the peoples of that civilization. The letters reveal the dynamics of perhaps the most important form of early modern acculturation: when individuals or whole groups from one religious and geographical society, in this case the Magharibi, found themselves transported into an alien world with different languages, beliefs, and customs. Within those new and destabilizing worlds of the Christians, the captives were forced to come to terms with these differences in order to protect their religious convictions, negotiate or plead with their captors, and ultimately survive in the hope of escape or ransom. Upon returning to their communities, if they did, they told many stories—but wrote little—about their ordeals in the world of the *nasara*. Hajj Mustapha Laz, who became the bey of Tunis in 1653, had been a captive among the Christians. In order to raise the money he had borrowed for his ransom, he went around Tunis telling the story of his captivity to curious listeners. Upon entering the house of Yunis Dey, the Turkish appointee from Istanbul, he was invited to the dinner table, whereupon he described to the attendants the "lands of the Christians."[103]

CAPTIVITY AND THE OTHER

Although captivity was cruel and harsh, it sometimes produced a friendship between captive and captor that dissolved polarity and reduced differentiating otherness. That is why the images of the *nasara* in Magharibi oral and written records were not monolithic.

Rather, they reflect the variety of Euro-Christians whom Muslims were fortunate or unfortunate enough to encounter. Arabic accounts invariably reveal fear and hatred of captors, but also curiosity and even friendship. Muhammad ibn Abi al-Fadl Kharūf was captured during Charles V's attack on Tunis. The bishop who came to own him wanted to perfect his Arabic, which he could not do in Spain, so he took Kharūf to Fez to help him continue his studies. They became such friends that he allowed his captive to be ransomed in 1540.[104] Another Tunisian, Hajj Ahmad al-Tunisi, was seized by Christian pirates; they sold him to a Genoese merchant who permitted him to study geography and cartography, a study he had started while a student in Fez. By 1568 al-Tunisi had prepared a map of the world, relying on the work of the Arab geographer Abu al-Fida and the French cartographer Orontius Finaeus.[105] A moving story about the intimacy and love that captivity could engender is that of a Christian woman who was captured and married off to Hussein, the father of Ramadan, bey of Tunis (d. 1613). When Ramadan assumed power, his mother asked him to let her return to her birthplace, *barr al-nasara,* the land of the Christians. He tried to convert her to Islam but failed, so he sent her back, and she married the man she had been betrothed to before she was kidnapped. Upon the death of her husband, she returned to Ramadan with a Christian child. Ramadan welcomed her but told her that while she did not have to convert, her son had to. The son did and was named Rajab. His mother lived on, and when she died, Ramadan built her a church outside the Carthage gate, where she was buried. The tomb was still there in the early eighteenth century when al-Wazir al-Sarraj recorded the story.[106] During a jihad/privateering raid against the Christians, Khalīl, bey of Tripoli, brother-in-law of the dey, met with two French ships, which he fought until he ran out of ammunition. Wounded in his left arm, he was captured and kept as a galley slave until he and the rest of the captives were ransomed, "one Christian captive for one Muslim captive." After returning to Tripoli, he started telling stories about a French woman in Marseilles whom he called his "mother," who had treated him kindly. The friendship he had established with the Christian was a memory he shared with his compatriots. He also kept in touch with the French woman by sending her his greetings with Libyan travelers and traders.[107]

Captivity served as an international leveler, especially when it brought together Arabs and Muslims from all over the Mediterranean behind the same oar—and also brought them together with Europeans. On many occasions, Magharibi captives found themselves chained to European Christians with whom they established common bonds—and cooperated together against the common captor. The Spanish writer Mateo Aleman described at the end of his picaresque novel about Guzman of Alfaraque (1599, English translation 1623) how captured Moors and Spanish convicts conspired together to mutiny, seize the ship in which they were serving, and seek sanctuary in Barbary. As al-Zayani was describing the Mediterranean, he mentioned hundreds of uninhabited islands in the sea, where "the *zamantūt* [robbers] from among the Muslims and the infidels rob ships, the Muslims robbing the infidels, and the infidels robbing the Muslims while some ships bring together the brigands from among the Muslims and the Christians."[108] The Mediterranean provided close cooperation between Christian and Muslim pirates, freebooters, and privateers—all of whom could well end up in the same galley.

In the compendium of *nawazil al-jihad*, al-Zayati gave his readers advice regarding captives. It is to the benefit of Muslims to liberate the captive, he wrote, because it is the captive's right; it is a duty of the captive to ransom himself if he has money; if a Muslim is captured by Christians and converts to Christianity, after which he returns to the lands of Islam, he should be forgiven, "for God may be the reason that he is brought back to the lands of the Muslims"; and if he claims his wife, who may have remarried, the decision should rest on whether he had converted to Christianity willingly or under duress.[109] One of the repeated questions discussed in the *nawazil* pertained to the status of a captive who returned and found his wife remarried. This conundrum appears frequently in al-Zayati's works, with all the convolutions and complexities of such situations. The existence of so many *nawazil* shows how much the religious debate in North Africa, as earlier in al-Andalus, focused on captives and their plight, and how much scholars and their communities, from al-Andalus to Egypt, argued and discussed the consequences of captivity.[110] In the same way that Europeans had to confront the problem of captivity through their religious institutions—especially in Catholic countries with the establishment of the Mercedarian and Trinitarian orders—so did Muslims have to address captivity theologically and jurisprudentially. The *nawazil* enabled a jurist to help communities by giving them the history of a legal question, how it had been answered before, and how he either agreed or differed with the previous decisions. They provided the opportunity for jurists to innovate, thereby creating a dynamic for developing a body of religious law that addressed, or attempted to address, every possible conundrum in social conditions resulting from captivity by the *nasara*.

While jurists dealt with the impact of captivity, poets took it upon themselves to call on leaders not to forget the captives: "How many scholars have they [the Spaniards] taken captive, and how many *sharīfs* [descendants of the Prophet] and children," wrote the Algerian poet Muhammad ibn Maymūn al-Jaza'iri about Oran at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[111] “How many Muslims have been hurt, and how many men and women have been seized,” repeated the poet al-Qawji.[112] Soon after the liberation of Oran from the Spaniards in 1708, Hassan Pasha turned his attention to “ransoming Muslim captives from the hands of the infidels and to looking for them in all the land, seeking to abide by the Prophet’s words, ‘Whoever ransoms a captive from the hands of the infidels, God will release his body from the fires of punishment.’”[113] As a result of pressures from poets and jurists, rulers felt a national and emotional responsibility to bring back captives. In October an old woman went to see Mulay Ismaʿil about her captured son because the brother of the Spanish emissary, “Manuel,” who was in Meknes, was the one holding him. Feeling pity for the old woman, “wife of al-Qabbaj al-Fasi,” Ismaʿil intervened by giving four hundred riyals to Manuel for the ransom of the Muslim, and released a Spanish captive gratis.[114]

As collections were made in European parishes and money was raised in processions led by redemptionist fathers (in France and Spain), so was money raised, from taxation and private donations, for Muslim captives. The influential jurist Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Wansharīsi (d. 1509) discussed the case of a woman who promised a weight of gold for freeing captives:[115] evidently, wealthy women allotted sums of money for ransoming coreligionists in European cities and ports. After the Christians, “may God break their backs,” wrote Ibn ʿAskar in 1577, conquered al-Andalus in 1491, they took the Muslims captive. A certain sheikh, ʿAbdallah ibn Muhammad al-ʿAnnabi, went to the Moroccan ruler in Fez and told him about his plan to undertake the freeing of the captives. The ruler called his wives and concubines and told them to contribute toward the ransom. “They gave him clothes, jewelry, gold and precious stones.” The sheikh sailed to al-Andalus, but his ship sank and he was drowned.[116] In Portugal, Morisco singers used to go around houses collecting money for captives; twice in one day, admitted a man before the Inquisition, he gave twenty riyals “to ransom some Moriscos.”[117] The Algerian writer ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Fakūn praised a certain jurist, Sheikh Balghīth, for spending money on ransoming captives.[118] Mustafa Qirdnash, the Andalusian émigré who became wealthy as a result of introducing innovative agricultural techniques in ʿAnnaba, Algeria, spent some of his wealth in ransoming Muslims who had been captured by Christians.[119] Captivity and liberation kept the Christian captors at the forefront of Muslim concerns.

While some captives were ransomed by the *fakkakīn,* others managed to escape. A moving story of captivity and escape (and subsequent wealth) appears in the biography of Sheikh Abu al-Qasim ibn Khalaf of Qayrawan. A man went to his brother seeking food for his family. The sister-in-law refused to give him any, whereupon he returned despondently to his house. On his way back, he met Abu al-Qasim, who told him to go to Sousse (in Tunisia) to a certain shop. So he went there and met the shop owner, who gave him money to buy food. After buying bread and oil, he had dinner and went to sleep. While he was sleeping, Christian pirates seized him and sailed away with him, later selling him to a shopkeeper. The latter said, "I have bought you, so work in the shop to buy and sell." He did so, and every evening the captor brought him dinner and told him to close the shop. He noticed in the shop a jar full of gold. One night, a man knocked on the door and said to the captive, "We have found a ship that is going to Sousse. Come out and let us escape." So the man went with them after taking the jar of gold. By morning they were in Sousse, and from there he went to Qayrawan, where he found the sheikh standing and smiling at him. "Did you bring food and provision?" he asked. "Master, you sent me to Sousse but the Christians captured me." "As God is my witness, my son," he replied, "you could only find your food in the land of Christians."[120] Such escapes may have been numerous since they were reported in European sources. In September 1717, wrote the correspondent of Joseph Addison in Tetouan, "arrived here Eleven moors that made their escape from Gibraltar in a little boat after being three days at Sea."[121] "We have sent some Hundreds of Moors back to their own Country, who were in Captivity, and had fled to Gibraltar, or got aboard of our Men of War in the Ports of Portugal and Spain," wrote Captain Braithwaite in 1727.[122] In the same way that it was possible for Spaniards from North African presidios to seize captives from Sousse, so was it possible for Muslim captives to escape from the presidios either back to their homes or to presidios and ships of countries allied with their ruler. Upon arriving home, and like their European counterparts, they had a world of stories to tell.

CAPTIVITY AND *KARAMAT*

Magharibi accounts about captivity show how Muslims turned their captivity to the service of Islam. At a time of increased European seizure of Muslims, religious authorities felt the need to provide their communities with moral uplift. Captivity stories were used to emphasize the intelligence and piety of the Muslim captives—how Muslim insight and dedication had freed the captive from among the ignorant infidels. A pupil of the Moroccan sheikh ʿOmar ibn Mubarak was taken captive by Christian pirates. Soon after, the daughter of the Christian pirate leader fell sick, and no one was able to cure her. The captive, who had learned from the sheikh a cure for hemorrhage, offered to treat her if his captors promised to release him. They agreed, and after curing her he was freed.[123] Abu al-Shitaa' a-Shawi was taken by Christians in either Tangier or Ceuta, but he was so devout that the captors honored him, brought him food, and never gave him any chores to perform.[124] Muslim piety could impress even Christian pirates.

As in English and New England writings about captivity among North Africans and Native Americans, the Muslim captive had to rely on his intelligence to survive, and on his faith to show the power of his God. Ahmad ibn Qasim told the story of a Muslim captive in a presidio who defied his captors and lived to laugh at them and tell his story. The captive, Ahmad, had been told to go to a neighboring village to fetch the statue of a saint. Upon seeing the statue, he felt it sacrilegious to mount it on the donkey that he had been given, so he tied the piece of wood, as he viewed it, to the tail of the donkey and trundled it behind him. The villagers were furious at him, as they touched and cleaned the dust off the saint. They dragged the captive to the governor, demanding that he be executed. The latter refused, telling the mob that the Muslim had done what he could not but do: he could not venerate a statue as a holy saint, and they should not have sent him on such an errand in the first place. The story became so popular that it was relayed to the jurist ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Burji, who told it to his friends in Marrakesh, one of whom told it to Ibn Qasim. The story traveled from the Atlantic seaside to the metropolis, and from the oral narrative to the written page.[125] The captivity narrative was a national narrative about Muslims defying Christians.

Captivity was part of Christian-Muslim confrontation because it constituted the veritable field of trial and resistance. That men, or women, should be captured by the enemy was part of the danger of the seas: but then, the challenge began as the captives found themselves exposed to the pressures of converting to the captors' religion. Indeed, as in some English expressions, captivity was viewed as a "beneficial exercise for Christians."[126] For Christians as for Muslims, captivity was the ultimate test of faith. Zayn al-Dīn al-Malibari described the Portuguese attack on Muslims on the coast of Malabar, with all the enslavement, killing, and pillaging that was committed, as an *imtihan*/ test for the believers sent by God.[127] Sheikh Abu Muhammad ʿAbd al-ʿAziz and his friends were about to sail from Alexandria when a certain Abu al-ʿAbbas al-Tungi, a "man of knowledge and perspicacity," warned them that if they sailed in a particular ship, they would be captured. They did not heed his words, as a result of which they were *imtuhinu*/tested by captivity in Messina, Sicily.[128] The famous jurist al-Yūsi told a story about a seaman from Salé who asked Sīdi Abu ʿAli Shakkawi whether he should sail or not. The latter told him not to. Another man, however, went out to sea because he was told he would get rich, and "it happened as they went to sea that the *rūm* took them captive and sailed away with them. But then they met with Muslim ships and a battle ensued in which the Muslims won. They seized the ship that had taken them captive, and returned with the booty." Half a century later, the story was recorded by Muhammad al-Qadiri—an attestation to the pride felt in the Muslim victory over the Christian captors and the longevity of recollecting such victory.[129] For al-Qadiri, too, captivity was a test of faith: someone *imtuhina bil-asr*/was tested by captivity.[130]

Part of the test of captivity was the horrible treatment that captives endured—not unlike all other captives in the galleys and bagnios of early modern slavery. But Arabic writings did not concentrate on the suffering of the captives—again, there would be no writing about humiliation and shame. Rather, writers focused on the piety of the captives and, more emphatically, on the miraculous power of the holy man—the *murabit*, master, teacher, and liberator. Miracles of liberation appeared frequently in medieval Christian captivity accounts and Renaissance Catholic literature (especially Spanish ballads and plays), but declined in the period under study as Protestant (English and Dutch) writers completely ignored such appeals and as the majority of European captives were either ransomed, exchanged, or forcibly released. In the Magharibi sources, however, miracles attested to two factors that were different from the European environment. First, Muslims were not always as successful in ransoming their coreligionists as were the Christians; the expenses were too high for countries that did not have the stores of gold and silver that Europeans had.[131] That was why the Magharibi had to appeal to the miraculous for help. Second, North African society had become by this period very much saint-oriented; holy men, Sufis, and sheikhs played a decisive role in their communities' religious and political decisions. Miracles associated with them, especially if they were miracles that showed their power over the dangerous *nasara*, confirmed their authority and holiness. These *karamat* demonstrated the *baraka*/power of the holy man, which ensured him followers and possibly a Sufi *tarīqa*/order. Although the role of holy man stemmed from his ability to mediate among tribes and to intermediate with the ruler—from his political role in a country where central government was never fully in control of all regions[132]—one demonstration that was central to his reputation and efficacy was his ability to help bring back the captives by some miraculous feat. Such a *baraka* expanded the role of holy men, especially those who lived near port cities and coastal regions, to include a social function: not only did they become the centers of resistance to European invasions and attacks, but they also provided security and hope for the communities that were threatened by abduction, captivity, and enslavement. Salé, which to Europeans was the notorious center of piracy, housed the shrine of Sīdi Abu Hassūn, who was invoked to ward off European piratical attacks. So venerated was this sixteenth-century *murabit* that he became integrated into the vast religious complex around him: his gravesite was built near the medieval Grand Mosque and the Merinid *madrassa* (and later, the Tījani Sufi circle was established close by). Such a *murabit* doubtlessly confirmed his position, and gained followers, by extending his *baraka*, and performing a *karama* in saving a captive, or as in recent times, in blessing children who were circumcised on his feast day (which coincides with the celebration of the Prophet's birthday).

Many were the *karamat* bestowed by God on holy men to effect the escape and victory of captives. Sīdi Shuʿayb ibn al-Hasan al-Andalusi, a jurist who had fled from al-Andalus to Morocco, as his sobriquet shows, was once walking near the seashore when the crew of a Spanish ship abducted him and chained him to other Muslims. As soon as they did that, the ship ceased to move. The Spaniards realized that they could not go on, so some suggested that they release the captive because he was a *qissīs* who was favored by God. But he refused to leave unless they released all the Muslim captives too—which they did.[133] God had intervened through the sheikh on the side of the captives. On another occasion, Christian ships appeared near the Moroccan coast of Haha in order to seize slaves; but Sīdi Ahmad al-Sayeh, who had been sleeping, suddenly stood up calling out for his sword, as a result of which the enemy fled.[134] Having alerted the city, the sheikh appeared to have miraculously driven away the enemy—who often relied on the elements of surprise and stealth in landing near Muslim villages, marching under the cover of darkness, falling on the sleeping population and capturing them, and then carrying them to their ships. Other sheikhs were not as lucky: it was Friday, recalled Abu Zayd al-Fasi, when a *majzūb*/mystically enlightened sheikh was in a field where the Christians landed. He fought with them until he was killed.[135]

No holy man could acquire religious authority or credibility without showing power in freeing captives. Biographies of *murabits* included stories about miraculous deeds in regard to helpless captives. One such extensive biography is that of Abi al-Ghaith al-Qashash (1551–1622), which includes stories of liberation and of the Tunisian saint's power over captors (see translation #6). Similarly, Sīdi Ibn ʿAbdallah Ahmad was the subject of a whole book by ʿAbd al-Salam al-Qadiri (1648–1698) that recounted some of his *karamat*. One day Ahmad heard a woman weeping. He went to see her and promised that her son, who had been in captivity for twelve years by Euro-Christians, "may God destroy them," would return. A month later, a messenger brought the news from Tetouan that the captive had returned. He had been walking on the seashore when he met a boat belonging to a group of captives. They took him with them and they all reached freedom, whereupon he went to his family and relatives, "and God brought them all together, as our Sayyid Ahmad, may God be pleased with him, had promised."[136] Holy men could effect the liberation of captives hundreds of miles away. Their *karamat* were often the only hope left for captives and their distraught families—as the following *karama* of sheikh Ahmad al-Burnusī in Fez shows:

> A woman came to him and said, "Sīdi, my son is a captive and I have not been able to raise the money needed to ransom him." The sheikh answered: "O servant of God, after three days, go through the ʿAjīza gate to Sad [dam] al-Ruwaq and sit there at the edge of the road with a piece of bread in your hand. The dog that comes to you and looks at you, give it the piece of bread, but do not leave your spot until noon." The woman did as the sheikh had told her and found a black dog to which she gave the bread. As she was waiting, she saw a man crossing the valley who was coming toward her dressed in Christian clothes. When she saw that his feet were chained, she ran to him and discovered that he was her son. "My son, pupil of my eye," she cried. "Mother," he answered, "What is the name of this place where God made us meet?" "Have you forgotten your country, liver of my flesh?" she replied, "This is Sad al-Ruwaq." … [He then told her about his return.] "The [Christian] dog whose captive I was told me to take some beef to his house. I sat on the road, thinking about you and my brothers, and I wept. After I had dried my tears, and was about to continue on the way, a big dog, as big as a calf, snapped up the meat and ran off. I chased after it until it left the Green Gate [of the city], but I kept on running, afraid that it would escape. For then the Christian would beat me and would tie my hands and pour sizzling pork fat on my bare back. And suddenly I found myself here."[137]

The account highlights the plight of captives among Europeans, with what must have been the usual exaggeration and addition. In this case the captive had been held in a North African presidio: he was not in Europe, although he was among (often the worst kind of) Europeans. The captive had been allowed to wander around to do chores, had learned to communicate in either Spanish or Portuguese, and had been punished on various occasions in the most degrading manner for a Muslim. (Of course, whether the oft-starved soldiers would squander delicious pork fat just for amusement is questionable.) He seemed to have been in captivity for quite a long time, as he had lost his bearings and was totally disoriented when he met his mother. Still, upon his return, a story was told about his ordeal, with all the details accurately relayed, including the humiliating allusion to pork.

Captivity was so dangerously common in the coastal regions of North Africa, especially near the Portuguese and Spanish presidios, that many holy men established themselves in those regions to help their coreligionists with their miraculous interventions. The presidios were very much like penal colonies from which Portuguese, Spanish, French, and British soldiers fanned out, attacking the “Moors of War” (as distinguished from the “Moors of Peace,” who traded with the presidios). Many Magharibi were captured by the military forces in the presidios and then transported to the European mainland. Al-Zayani wrote that in 1722 the Spaniards sortied from Ceuta and attacked the Muslims. They pillaged the house of Qaʿid ʿAli ibn ʿAbdallah and the central fort, the *kasbah*, killed and took captives, and then returned to Ceuta, from which they departed to “their country” with the loot and the captives.[138] Captivity was as traumatic and final to Magharibi as was the seizure of sub-Saharan Africans and their transportation to the Americas. Thus the North Africans were in desperate need of the *karamat* of holy men. Particularly at times when Magharibi societies were in political turmoil, inhabitants could not rely on a centralized government to ransom them from captivity or to demand their freedom by pressuring European potentates. While they were aware how much their kith and kin struggled to bring them back, the captives also realized that once they boarded the ships to the Americas or to the vast slave markets of the Mediterranean, their whereabouts would be lost and they would be as inaccessible as a Mandingo in Virginia.

CAPTIVITY OF WOMEN

From the last quarter of the fifteenth century on, Portuguese and Spanish ships attacked Islamic ports in North Africa, on both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts, and seized men for the galleys and the mines, and women for domestic service and concubinage. The information about these women could help answer questions about gender and social role in the history of the early modern Maghrib (and elsewhere in the Muslim world). How did Muslim women fare in captivity? Did families accept the return of wives or daughters from captivity and certain sexual abuse? What deals were struck to ensure the return of women to their communities? What did religious authorities have to say about abused women? These and other questions point to the unusual role that captured Muslim women played in early modern Islamic society. Often, captured women were forcibly converted and married off to European settlers; knowledge about them that reached their kith and kin must have challenged male patriarchy.[139] Other women challenged gender roles as they were forced to assume agency after they were separated from their families. Until they were ransomed or miraculously saved, these women had to fend for themselves, pray on their own, sometimes even negotiate for themselves. They had to learn as much as they could about their captors and their new societies. These were the first women in the early modern period who encountered the religio-cultural adversary from positions not of luxury and power but of fear, anxiety, and uncertainty—and on the adversary's own turf.

The first Arabic voice about women captives and their plight at the hands of Christian captors can be heard in the verse of Ibn Yajjabsh al-Tazi. In 1471 the Portuguese attacked Asila and carried more than five thousand of its inhabitants into slavery.[140] Al-Tazi, a contemporary poet (d. 1514), described the plight of the captives as they were dragged away by their Iberian captors, at the same time that he called on his countrymen for action and for avenging the desecration that had befallen the slaves:

> If your eyes had seen how they left, you would have wept blood
> Mothers were separated from their children, and husband from wife
> Their tears streamed down their cheeks, for the loss of those they loved
> The veil was taken away from the virgin, revealing all her beauty and charm
> And the enemy stared at her beauty, while her tears accompanied her moans
> O you people, the best in the world, nation of the Great Guide
> Don't you, O people, have any pity? Your brothers and sisters are helpless
> And are enduring humiliation and insult, despair and suffering, fear and hatred
> Think on the condition of those chained captives, poor and degraded in dire hardship
> Yesterday, they were like kings in their land, and this morning they are humiliated slaves.[141]

By the end of the sixteenth century there were so many women in Christian captivity that al-Fishtali lamented the plight of "the women of the Maghrib, Arab by lineage and character" who had been enslaved by invaders from the Canary Islands and led away, "trailing their clothes behind them."[142] "How many a mother and her child were separated," lamented a poet, "as a body is separated from the soul/ … [and were] led by a *ʿilj*/ruffian full of hatred, as the eye weeps and the heart despairs."[143] The captivity of women brought sorrow but also shame, as kinsmen were humiliated by their failure to provide protection. Even a Spanish observer noted the social tension resulting from captivity. When the warrior Ibn Shammūt, saw his wife being led captive by the Spaniards, he shouted to her a promise that he would free her. "The Moroccan [woman] was unimpressed with his words and took some sand and threw it up in the air, saying: 'All that you say is wind. Itwi [Fatima, her name] is no longer yours.' Ibn Shammut then took off one of his shoes and threw it to her as a guarantee of his promise, and turned to his people, urging them to fight, and reminding them of the losses they have suffered at the hands of the Christians." Captivity pushed the limits of relationships: as the wife was being led away, she could no longer maintain docility or obedience. Fearful of what lay ahead of her, she unleashed her defiance at her ineffective husband. Stung, Ibn Shammūt went on to fight and regain his wife along with all the booty that the Christians had taken.[144]

Europeans needed slaves, and women captured from the Islamic regions were spared to fulfill that need.[145] Most often they were quickly baptized—in order for the pious Catholic conquistadors and their theologians to justify enslaving them. A list of Muslim female captives who were baptized in Rome includes Tunisians (one of whom was a *puella*/little girl), Constantinopolitans, Mauritanians, Bosnians, Dalmatians, along with girls and women from all over the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts: Mostar, Tripoli, Morea, Coron, Chios, Aleppo, and Salé. Their ages ranged from seven to sixty.[146] Captured children were converted and assimilated—without retaining remembrance of their families or histories—much like the *devshirme* in the Ottoman Empire (although that was abolished in the seventeenth century). It is perhaps in reaction to such vast assimilation of captured North Africans that Iberians would later proclaim "purity of blood" as a criterion for true, unsullied Spanishness. Both the Ottomans and the European Christians relied on abduction to bolster the numbers of captives needed for military, naval, and domestic services. And while European travelers repeatedly denounced the Ottomans for taking Christian children, they did not rebuke their coreligionists for similar seizure of Muslims. Nor did Arab/Muslim writers describe such abductions; they treated such reports with the utmost discretion lest shame befall the captives and their families.

Stories that have survived about captured women reveal the enduring emotional ties with families, the suffering, and sometimes the miraculous nature of their return. Given the general paucity of accounts about captivity in the Arabic sources, it is surprising to find quite a few about women. One account tells of a miracle escape effected by holy man ʿAbdallah Radwan al-Janawy. One day, wrote his biographer, Abu ʿAbbas al-Murabi al-Andalusi (d. 1624), al-Janawy learned that an Arab woman by the name of Mubaraka al-Sharīfiyah was a slave in the "lands of the infidels." She had heard of the holy sheikh and had written to him, asking him to plead her case before the Qa'id in the fort in Tangier. The name "Sharīfiyah" suggests a family descended from the Prophet and therefore endowed with learning and possibly Sufi training. That she "wrote" to al-Janawy demonstrates either her own literacy or the presence of other captives willing to help her. Al-Janawy wrote to the Qa'id, as she continued to report to him on her suffering and hard labor—until God released her from the "grip of infidelity." A man appointed a time and met with her and two other men, then lowered them from the wall of the city, after which they escaped. The woman, however, proclaimed that her escape was effected by none other than the holy sheikh.[147] On another occasion, the Spaniards of Oran captured a jurist, Sīdi ʿAbdallah al-Mahaji, along with his three daughters. After a year of captivity, he was ransomed and afterward proceeded to ransom two of his three daughters. His wife kept weeping for the third daughter, so he left the house, performed his ablutions, and prayed, calling on God to help her: "And lo, she came. He told her mother, Go and see your daughter." The latter explained that she was combing her hair when a white bird pecked her. She followed it until she reached home.[148] Such an easy escape corresponded to the warmth of the parents' reception: there had been difficulty neither in escaping nor in the parents' acceptance of a dishonored and violated daughter. Curiously, it was a pure white bird—perhaps from some painting of the Holy Spirit that they had seen—that had returned her to them. The proximity to Christians had left its mark on Muslim imagination.

A few women developed their own miraculous powers to help their male kinsmen escape or be released from captivity. After the husband of ʿAisha bint (daughter of) Ahmad was captured, she saw her father and mother in a dream. The father told her to go and free her husband. When she awoke, she called on him from her prayer rug, and "God made it happen." This is how the husband described the event to his son in 1561, after ʿAisha had died:

> The captain [in Tangier] sent us into an underground cell where we stayed for ten nights. On the tenth night, at midnight, I heard somebody calling: Abu ʿAli, Abu ʿAli. I answered, Yes, having become fully awake. I heard the voice of your mother, Sitt ʿAisha with Sitt Raysūn … saying, Do not worry, within the hour

> you and your friend will be freed. I told my friend, be comforted, God will free us shortly. He said: How can that be? While he was talking, the door to the cell was opened, and the jailer (a boy) said: Come out you Muslims. So I and my friend walked out. There were Christians standing with lit candles. They unshackled us and took us to the captain. When we stood before him, he said: Go to your country. Now.[149]

The ways of God with his captives were mysterious—and sometimes led to happy endings. Other women actually fought the invaders. Thirty Christian ships attacked the city of Sfax, killed the sixty guards, and herded the women captives to their ships. As one of the women was being tied and pushed with her slave into a ship, she cried to him to cut away the ropes, which he did. He then attacked the first infidel he met and killed him and took his weapons. The woman freed herself and beat a drum, which alerted one of the grandsons of Sheikh Muhammad Raqīq, who came with his dog, attacked the Christians, and freed the captured women. The encounter with the Christian attackers necessitated an immediate change in gender roles that resulted, as in this case, in a heroic deed. The deed was recorded centuries after its occurrence, attesting to an enduring public memory and oral repetition.[150] Another woman took the initiative in effecting her own liberation: Fatima bint Muhammad found nobody to fend for her after her seizure by Christians, and proving undesirable to her captor, a member of the Order of Saint John of Malta, she sought permission on August 26, 1605, to go and raise the money needed for her ransom in "*Barberia e in detta Mahometta, sua patria, per negotiare et raccogliere tanto suo riscatto come quello di sua figlia*."[151] It is not clear how she managed to raise the ransom sum, but judging by male practice, she would have gone into women's quarters, harems, and baths to tell her story about the lands of the Christians and plead for help.[152]

No account conveys the horror of captivity more clearly than the letter written by a Moroccan woman in Malta at the end of the eighteenth century. A letter by forty-six-year-old "Fatma," who was captured by the Maltese in 1798, presents a unique perspective on female suffering in Malta (where slavery would continue well into the nineteenth century).[153] Fatma wrote to Mulay Suleyman, the sultan of Morocco (reg. 1792–1822), describing her condition among the *nasara*. She had seen the worst of Malta's greedy merchants and fanatical knights, doctors, and sadists. Her first letter was short and did not elicit any response from the ruler. So she wrote another longer and more descriptive letter. She was severely disoriented and shifted from the first to the third person as she told about her horrors, writing in very poor colloquial Arabic (see translation #20). It is not known who read her letters, but the reaction that they would have provoked in Muslim readers would no doubt have been intense and deeply adversarial toward the captors.

EUROPEAN CAPTIVES AND NEW MUSLIMS

Europeans who either willingly joined the Magharibi or were captured by the Barbary Corsairs and hauled to North African servitude provided information about their countries. These Europeans learned the local language and thus were able to translate to and communicate with their North African interlocutors. On the basis of his own experience of captivity in Algiers between 1575 and 1580, Cervantes described in *Los Baños de Argel* (1582) how Spanish captives introduced their Algerian captors to Spanish songs, musical instruments, fiestas, and "*comedias*." Richard Hasleton, an Englishman who escaped the Spanish Inquisition and reached Algeria, found an old "Moor" who protected and helped him. In return, he described to him his experiences in Genoa, how he had been tortured in Majorca, and how he had escaped to North Africa. Later, he built a house for the Algerian ruler in the "English" style.[154] A sheikh by the name of Mansur al-Nashar (d. 1677) found a group of Christian captives in front of his store. Seeing that they were bareheaded and barefooted, the sheikh took pity on them, went out and mingled with them, talking with and comforting them. Not only was he eager to share in God's compassion for captives, as he told others later, but he was eager to learn about them and about their families and lands.[155] A French captive, Claude Auxcousteaux de Fercourt, who was held in Algiers from 1678 to 1679, attested how the indigenous Moors, unlike the Moriscos, were compassionate to Christian slaves and often spoke with them in the lingua franca: "No pilat fantasia, Dios grande, mondo cousi cousi; Dios fera it tua camino, si venira ventura ira a casa tua"/Don't worry; God is great, the world, so, so; God will lead the way; an occasion will arrive for you to return home.[156] An English captive in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Adam Elliot, used to sit with his Moroccan captor and his companions and tell them about life in London and sing popular English songs to them.[157] After a French captive, Lewis Marott, made his escape from Tunisia, he returned to trade with his former captor, who became his very good friend.[158] An "English renegade known by the name of James Kerr … always attend[ed the] Court" of Mulay Ismaʿil.[159] During her captivity in 1756, Elizabeth Crisp met numerous English renegades who had married Moorish women and had learned about English custom and social habits. The "Prince" was quick to note, she recalled, that because she was not wearing a ring, she could not have been married, as she claimed.[160] From such captured women and men, and many others, the Magharibi gained information about European customs and behavior.

The French redemptionist father, Antoine Quartier, was captured by Libyan sailors and enslaved between 1660 and 1669. Sometime during his captivity, ca. 1664, he met with a *murabit* by the name of Yusuf. This Yusuf had been born in al-Andalus and had studied at a convent, where he had planned to become a priest. After seeing his father burned alive for confessing Islam, he fled to Tunisia and settled in Misratah. Yusuf was a master of languages and spoke Latin, Spanish, Turkish, Arabic, and the lingua franca. Upon meeting Quartier, he liked the Frenchman and hoped that he would convert to Islam and marry his daughter, ʿAlima; he even promised to pay his ransom if he did. Unfortunately, Quartier did not find ʿAlima attractive (although he was able to see only her hands and part of her face, which seemed to have some skin irritation). The father feasted his prospective son-in-law, offering him potted roast, couscous, sorbet with wild honey, and other delicacies. The daughter offered him a handkerchief of dates and grilled desert insects. But nothing could sway Quartier, and instead he started preaching to the *murabit* about Christianity, hoping to make him revert to his old religion. Each wanted the other to convert, and each made every effort possible. At the end, neither converted, and Quartier had to leave with the other captives. As he concluded his description of that episode, he wrote how profusely he had thanked Yusuf “de tout mon coeur”/with all my heart for all that the latter had done and offered, and he left praying to God that this “pauvre marabout, qui étais charitable et vivait moralement bien”/poor *murabit*, a charitable man living morally, would finally find salvation in Christ.[161]

Meanwhile, converts to Islam re-created and imitated many things European, increasing thereby the familiarity between the two religious civilizations of the Mediterranean. The converts created a kind of “monde cosmopolite,” as Boubaker Sadok has written about seventeenth-century Tunis.[162] A city such as Meknes could even claim, as Henry Koehler argued, “la survivance du sang européen”/the survival of European blood, because of the long history of European conversion, settlement, and intermarriage in that region.[163] Europe and Europeans were in the North African blood because countless European captives “donned the turban,” changed their names and allegiances, and became “médiateurs entre deux cultures”/mediators between two cultures.[164] These converts to Islam from France, England, the Low Countries, Spain, Portugal, and Italy contributed to the European-Magharibi exchange of information, trade, and peoples. Also, Mulay al-Mansur established an army of European soldiers that served his government, *ʿulūuj al-makhzan*/ ruffians of the government, lived in a special quarter in Marrakesh (there were similar quarters, *hayy al-aʿlaj*, in other cities, too), and sustained their European culture, language, and practices.[165] Many of these converts and soldiers joined Magharibi naval and military personnel and introduced them to new weapons and tactics,[166] thereby contributing to the growth and transformation of the region.

Some of these *ʿulūj* had been captured in the battle of Wadi al-Makhazin. As an anonymous historian of the Saʿdians recorded, the victors "led the captives and the slaves to all regions of the land/*ila kulli ard*."[167] Many of the soldiers converted and, because of their military background and training, were grouped into the army of the government. Their integration into the cities of Islam could not but leave an indelible "Euro-Christian" mark on the local population—especially since many of the soldiers settled down to marriage and family. So much did cultural and religious interaction take place that there was often great difficulty for an office as punctilious as the Inquisition to identify the difference between native-born Moroccans and the New Muslims. As Moriscos in Spain dressed in the Christian manner and followed Catholic practice but still viewed themselves as Muslim, so did those *aʿlaj* in Morocco (at least some of them claimed) dress in Muslim manner and follow Islamic practice but still viewed themselves as Christians. Christian society, both Catholic and Protestant, liked to believe that despite change of name and clothes, there was something inherently Christian that could not be changed or eradicated from a Spaniard or an Englishman. That was why when converts to Islam escaped back to their countries, they did not hesitate to leave their wives and children behind—as if marriage and family were part of the external accoutrements of Islam that had nothing to do with an interior Christian truth.

The Inquisition records of five Spanish *aʿlaj* show that after years of captivity and assimilation, there was nothing to distinguish the former Christians from other Muslims.[168] The fact that they had been born Christian and had "pure" Christian blood did not show them to be any different from those around them in Morocco. Anxious about their apparent integration and fearful that they would not be believed in court after escaping to the Canaries, they insisted that during their captivity they had retained their Christian identity and had eaten pork and had drunk wine. Immersed in a sea of Muslims, the only way they could be different was by getting drunk and by feasting on the prohibited pork (they did not explain where they acquired it—unless it was wild boar). They also claimed that they had not eaten meat on Fridays or on feast days,[169] had participated in Mass, and had retained statues of Mary and possibly a cross before which they said devotions in Portuguese. They also had refused to take part in Muslim worship. Despite Muslim dress, name, and circumcision, they still wanted to view themselves, and to be viewed, as Christian. But the Inquisition officers were suspicious because the men were dressed in Muslim clothes. Dress such as the Turkish vest or the Morisco hat were important markers precisely because there often were no other dividers between Euro-Christians, Euro-Muslims, North African Muslims, and North African Christian converts to Islam. In such a community of hybrids and fakes, it was not clear who was the Christian and who the Muslim. When Luis Perez was captured in 1602 by Moroccan pirates near Labana de San Lúcar and taken to Fez, he was asked whether he was a Christian or a Muslim—to which he answered that he was a Morisco. In his case, he was allowed to keep his Morisco dress (other Christians could not) but had to change his name from a Spanish to an Arabic one.[170] An outsider arriving in Marrakesh could not have relied on dress, diet, or skin color to separate native-born Muslims from New Muslims—in the same manner that it was difficult to separate Old Christians in Spain from the New Christians.

The Frenchman Thomas dʾArcos was captured by Tunisian sailors in 1628, after which he converted to Islam and changed his name to Osman. Despite his conversion, he was not cut off from his European friends—and preferences. Numerous letters survive between him and his correspondents, including Peiresc, “conseiller du Roy en son parlement de Provence”/counselor to the king and his parliament in Provence, attesting to a continued exchange and friendship. His letters are unique in providing some of the only surviving correspondence of a convert to Islam who retained his ties with Christendom (see translation #7). If dʾArcos died in Tunisia, he died a Muslim, although he liked to believe that he had remained a Christian. The open seas between Islamic North Africa and Christian southern Europe ensured that there were many religious wanderers, converting from one religion to the other, then reverting to their old religion and country. Al-Zayati described a Spaniard who converted to Islam and after two years got married and had a child; then he returned to *bilad al-harb* (Christendom), only to return to Islam a year later; he remarried his wife, who had divorced him, but after a few months returned to the Christians.[171] Religion and families were changeable and negotiable, causing little moral anxiety or national confusion. ʿAli Rayyes, a Dutch convert to Islam, used to capture French and English ships and take them to his native home, The Hague, in order to sell the booty. He had evidently so kept in touch with his compatriots that the Dutch authorities feared that he might cause some diplomatic strain with neighboring countries and therefore asked the Moroccan ambassador, Yusuf Biscaino, in March 1625 not to permit converts to Islam to sail to

Holland. Converts were intermediaries, walking a fine line between nationalities while at the same time engaging and describing those nationalities. The only reason ʿAli Rayyes and the other renegades who had reached Holland were not captured and jailed was because they were Moroccan subjects.[172]

Muhammad Cheleby, the son of the secretary of the *diwan* in Tunis, learned to admire European music and comedy from his Christian slaves, who often performed for him. He was so eager to see Europe that he fled with six Christians and nine renegades to Sicily, where he was baptized in the Church of Mazara del Vallo and was given the Christian name of Dom Philippe (of Austria).[173] The news of his conversion reverberated around Europe, reaching even war-torn England.[174] By September he was in Naples, where he was received with "*grands honeurs*," after which he headed to Rome.[175] It was reported that he would then go to Spain in order to lead an army against the Portuguese.[176] Instead, Dom Philippe turned to a life of such debauchery that he soon exhausted his royal pensions. So he returned to Tunis and to Islam but continued to live like a European, still admiring ballet, music, and comedy, and (as it was believed in Europe) secretly wearing the cross that the pope had given him on his conversion. It is not surprising that people around him continued to view him as Dom Philippe rather than Muhammad.[177] The nephew of Mulay Ismaʿil converted to Christianity, but in he returned to Morocco, reconverted to Islam, and "informed the sultan about Europe."[178] Hussein ibn ʿAli married a Genoese captive who won the heart of his barren wife. Over the years, she gave him four sons, thereby mixing Christian and Muslim blood and culture at the beginning of the rule of the Husseinite dynasty in Tunisia.[179]

The presence of European captives in North Africa was as instrumental in informing Muslim society about Christians as were the stories that Magharibi men and women told about captivity in Christendom and in the presidios of Christendom. From the big cities to the *murabits* in their lodges, the Magharibi were constantly exposed to former captives and to their stories, recollections, and prayers. Unlike the European corpus of captivity, the Arabic corpus produced no plays or novels, nor grand narratives interspersed with page after page of empirical (or imaginary) ethnography, fauna, or flora. The *corpus captivitis* of the Magharibi is by far smaller than its European counterpart, consisting of anecdotes, memories, letters, and miracle accounts/*karamat*, all of them rarely more than a few paragraphs. Only in the *Thousand and One Nights* was there a fictional account about captivity (set in late medieval/early modern Genoa), and only in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America were there extended accounts of captivity and enslavement dictated by sub-Saharan African Muslims.[180] But in the period under study, there were microhistorical entries and allusions, all of which contributed to the narrative about Euro-Christians in the Arabic legacy of the Islamic West. Inevitably, and by the very nature of the *imtihan*/ordeal of captivity, the description of the Christians was nearly always adversarial. But alongside the anger and the anguish, there were stories about escape and friendship with the *nasara*, and there were details about the Christians' boudoirs and galleys, gardens and slave markets, which captives reported back to their relatives and rulers, Sufi masters and court officials.

Significantly, these stories did not include inaccurate or fantastical representations about the *nasara.* Despite military losses and religious anxiety caused by European ascendancy, the Magharibi did not employ historically or ethnically generated models that demonized their enemies. Rather, their accounts remained a reflection of traumatized experiences recollected in tranquillity or in anger among kith and kin. Such captivity anxieties and memories belong to what Edward Said called "resistance literature." Although they were disjointed, fragmented, episodic—emerging as they did from the "archives of repression," the stories were intensely communal and were shared across regions and decades. The disparateness, disjointedness, and haphazardness of the stories and memories can be taken as proof of their limitedness, but those same qualities can also be invoked to confirm their truthfulness. Their accidental nature, often neither premeditated nor organized, appearing at odd moments in a letter or a poem or a hagiography, suggests their spontaneity. The accounts in the *corpus captivitis* formed the oral history that was kept alive in the public memory and exchanged by Magharibi travelers and soldiers, urban and rural dwellers, courtiers and Sufis, from one generation to another, and from the coastal regions to the mountains and the hinterlands. One allusion to *asr*/captivity or one recollection of *ʿubūdiyya*/ enslavement was enough to trigger a reaction of emotions in family or community that had developed their own rather vast range of objective correlatives to the *nasara*. And it was a recollection that would last for centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Tunisian diplomat/writer Ahmad ibn Abi Diyaf (1804–1873) stood before a coastal ruin in his country and recalled the terrors that the British Empire had wrought on his forefathers: "In the days of Mustapha Laz [ca. 1665], the ships of the English came to Ghar al-Milh and burnt a ship and bombarded the city towers, whose ruins can still be seen today."[181] As the trauma of the defeat of the Incas continued to be recalled in the "Dance of the Conquest," so the trauma inflicted on the Magharibi by the *nasara* continued to be recollected in memoirs, poems, *karamat,* histories, chronicles, and tales about the brutal but also sometimes kindly Christians.

II. ELITE SOURCES

Muslim Ambassadors in Christendom

> *The German Emperor is nothing more than a companion of his electors; the Spanish king is less the ruler of his country than are his ministers; and the English king is a slave of his Parliament.*
>
> *Mulay Ismaʿil to a French visitor*[1]

While captives saw the Europeans through the experience of seizure, envoys and ambassadors developed a different perspective, dictated by their need to provide detailed information about the political institution, innovation, and religious culture of the host country. Their rulers, to whom their accounts were addressed, were eager to learn about their allies/adversaries on the other side of the Mediterranean, as well as in other regions of the world. In this category of elite sources, there were grand narratives that conveyed an overarching view of the *nasara,* as well as numerous letters and recollections, oral reports and informal descriptions, both in Arabic and in European languages, that provided multiple views.

Among the elite sources from the Maghrib is the account by al-Tamjruti of his journey to Istanbul in 1590–1591, which furnished his master, Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur, with information about the Mediterranean coastline and its European pirates (see translation #3). A few decades later, there were also writings by Ahmad ibn ʿAbdallah,[2] Ahmad ibn Ghanim, and Ahmad ibn Qasim. Actually, only the *mukhtasar*/summary of Ahmad ibn Qasimʿs travelogue has survived; but it remains the first Arabic account about early modern France and Holland, as well as an overview of the world (see translation #10). Along with the Mashriqi account about Fakhr al-Dīn's journey to Italy and Malta (see translation #5), Ibn Qasim's account provides the earliest detailed description of Europeans by a non-Christian. Although the Ottomans developed a corpus of writing about Europe, the first (and rather fanciful) account about Austria by Katip Çelebi appeared in the second half of the seventeenth century, while the first account about France appeared in 1721. The earliest descriptions of Western

Christians by non-Europeans were in Arabic.[3]

French sources record the 1682 visit of Muhammad Temīm and the travel book he wrote during his stay, *Kitab al-ʿAjaʿib*/The book of wonders (now lost).[4] Al-Ghassani left an account of his visit to Spain in 1690–1691, while ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAisha left letters about his journey to France in 1700.[5] The Moroccan ambassador in London in 1706 received a letter from one of Mulay Ismaʿil's secretaries asking him to "give a particular account of all that passes even to the very thoughts of those you are concerned with and the designes of the People in England, and that what you say or write may be just & certain, for we want not intelligence."[6] By October, he had written extensively, as a result of which he was thanked for all his "Enquireies & informations of Matters and Affaires of Europe that so His Majty [Ismaʿil] may not be misinformed."[7] Although the ambassador's report has not survived, other reports of visits to Europe have. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Ahmad ibn Mahdi al-Ghazzal and Muhammad ibn ʿUthman al-Miknasi wrote detailed accounts of their travels, showing both continuity in relying on earlier sources and originality in furnishing new insights.[8]

Actually, there are records (and sometimes summaries) of about eighty or so ambassadorial delegations from North Africa into Western Europe during the period under study: twenty-four embassies from Tunisia to France; thirty embassies to France, Spain, and other European countries from Morocco; and twenty-eight embassies to Western Europe from Algeria. Upon their return, ambassadors gave oral reports to their rulers, courtiers, and families, much as Sir Francis Drake reported in 1581 on his circumnavigation of the globe to Queen Elizabeth in a six-hour session. Rulers from Morocco to Persia to Mughal India were often more eager to listen than to read: "his delight," wrote Captain William Hawkins about the Mughal king in 1608, "was very much to talke with mee, both of the Affaires of England and other Countries."[9] In November 1616 thirty-one Muslim delegates returned from Marseilles and "raconté quʿils avaient été comblés d'amabilités"/reported that they had been spoiled with favors.[10] In 1659 Brahim Duque, ambassador to Holland, "avait pris des notes sur du papier et ne pouvait se lasser de parler des merveilles qu'il avait remarquées dans ce pays"/had taken notes on paper and could not cease to talk about the marvels he had seen in the country.[11] The Moroccan ambassador, ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAisha, stated that after his return from European journeys, his ruler, Mulay Ismaʿil, quizzed him for months about all aspects pertaining to the lands and peoples he had visited. So frequently did Ibn ʿAisha tell his family about the ladies he had met in France and the friends he had made that the French community became a raging topic of conversation in Miknas. "Nous ne manquerons pas de parler de vous à nos Enfans"/We won't fail/forget to tell our children about you, he wrote to Madame Saint Olon in May 1699.[12] In the dey of Algiers reported to King Louis XIV how the sea captain whom he had sent to France, ʿUthman Rayyes, "rendue compte de tous les bons traitements"/gave account of all the good treatment he had received during his visit.[13] During the visit of the Algerian ambassador, Hajj Muhammad, to London in 1732, he was given "ptivate [*sic*] Letters from Consuls, Merchants, and Captains," which showed why the Spaniards had been able to conquer Oran[14]—information he carried back to the dey and members of the *diwan*. In the Moroccan ambassador Muhammad ibn ʿUthman al-Miknasi assured King Carlos III that he would inform his king, *mushafahatan*/orally about Spanish society. He had become familiar, he added, with their laws and customs during his travels around the country.[15] Magharibi and Ottoman envoys always gave detailed oral reports to their sultans and to members of the court.[16]

Arabic interest in Euro-Christian affairs differed from one region to another and often depended as much on conditions in the country as on the character of the ruler. Al-Fishtali described how his master, Ahmad al-Mansur, received "news about the vast horizons and distant lands, and [desired] to learn the news of monarchs who were his allies as well as his enemies."[17] Al-Mansur's subjects saw him as a man of national prestige and international connections. The information he had about England's rivalry with Spain and the defeat of the Armada, for instance, was recorded in great detail by his scribe (see translation #2). Because of political unrest in Morocco after his death in 1603 and in the regencies as a result of disaffection with the Ottomans, there were continual attempts by rebels and dissidents to establish contact with European powers, seeking military-political support. Magharibi exiles and colluders traveled to Spain, France, England, and Italy to raise money, sign agreements, and coordinate hoped-for invasions. Mulay al-Sheikh, son of Mulay al-Mansur, fled to Spain in search of military support and considered crossing over to France, where he had established contacts. His son, Mulay ʿAbdallah, sent two emissaries in 1614 to negotiate in Spain with the "Sultan of Castile and Portugal, Flanders and Aragon … sultan of land and sea."[18] The information about politics and custom, religion and social practices that such men (and their entourages) gathered during their visits determined the temper and content of negotiations. Mulay Zaydan, another son of Mulay al-Mansur, argued with the duke of Medina Sidonia about the difference in inheritance law between Christianity and Islam: "in your religion and law, only the eldest son inherits, but in our religion and law, both old and young inherit."[19] In order to regain money stolen from him by his brother, Zaydan had to learn about Christian customs so that he could argue successfully. After the expulsion of the Moriscos, Zaydan asked Ahmad ibn Qasim to translate the edict of expulsion to him into Arabic so he could understand the motivations and psychology of the Christians.[20]

A few Magharibi rulers are known to have visited regions in the Ottoman Empire and Mediterranean Europe—unlike their European counterparts, who were often confined in their travels within the borders of their countries. Al-Mansur traveled into the Aegean and took part in the battle of Lepanto—at a time when Queen Elizabeth never left her island. Al-Mansur's predecessor and brother, ʿAbd al-Malik, traveled, as he himself wrote, in "Ittaley and other plasis in Chrystendome."[21] He had such a broad international vision that he commissioned a Spanish monk to write a prose and verse account of his life and conquests. He wanted his European counterparts to learn of his achievements, so when the monk, Juan Batista, finished the account, ʿAbd al-Malik sent it to be published in Valencia.[22] Some Magharibi rulers possessed a wider worldview than the European rulers, none of whom is known to have traveled through Dar al-Islam during the period under study. Furthermore, various Magharibi rulers were conversant in at least one European language (no early modern European monarch, however, is known to have learned either Arabic or Turkish), and therefore open to correspondence in that language.[23] The letter by ʿAbd al-Malik to Queen Elizabeth on July 10, 1577, is inscribed in Spanish, with only the *basmalah* on the top of the letter in Arabic, and even the signature, "AbdelMeleck," in Latin script.[24] ʿAbd al-Malik was one of many Magharibi monarchs who could speak European languages (Spanish and Italian) as well as "Islamic" languages, Arabic and (some) Turkish. His nephew, Mulay Zaydan, also proficient in Spanish, was so interested in European books that Ahmad ibn Qasim was repeatedly asked to translate, comment on, and summarize material from Europe.[25] In a letter to Philip III, Zaydan's brother, Mulay al-Sheikh, who had defected to Spain, praised his Spanish tutor who had taught him as a child in Morocco, repeating a well-known Arabic proverb that whatever one learned as a child was as permanent as etchings in stone.[26] At the same time, many of the ambassadors and envoys, like ʿAbd al-Wahid al-ʿAnnuri, Ahmad ibn Qasim, Ahmed ibn Ghanim, ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAisha, and others, were multilingual, refined, cultured, and observant. The Dutch Arabist Thomas Erpenius reported how he and Ibn Qasim spent "the whole day talking together, mixing Arabic and Spanish"[27] and learning about North African language and religion in the same manner that Ibn Qasim learned about Protestantism and anti-Spanish nationalism.

One aspect of the Magharibi correspondence with Europeans is specifically important in regard to conveying an attitude toward, rather than a piece of information about, the Europeans. Arabic letters always opened with a long preamble about the ruler and his lineage, as well as about the addressee and his/her lineage. When the Magharibi wanted to project a positive image of a European potentate (an image that would then reflect positively on that potentate's resident traders and on Muslim travelers in the potentate's country), then the honorific titles for both himself and his addressee were profuse, sometimes filling half the letter.[28] The matter of immediate concern for which the letter was written would then be relegated to the last few lines. But if relations were sour, the honorific titles were shortened or dropped (depending on the situation), and the letter opened bluntly, which is insulting in the Arabic rhetorical tradition. Such letters sent by sultans, pashas, beys, and deys were dictated to scribes in the presence of judges, jurists, and members of the court and the *diwan*, who in turn wrote generic epistles and occasion poems to the metropolitan mosques and Sufi lodges, tribal communities and merchant guilds to report about national and international affairs. The Marrakesh-based writings of al-Fishtali include letters to Moroccan jurists and scholars as well as to correspondents in Syria and Iraq.[29] His letters, among the best preserved in the Saʿdian corpus of epistolary royal exchange, provide information about Moroccan affairs as well as the only non-European and non-Christian assessment of Queen Elizabeth in the early modern period (see translation #4). The letter that Mulay Ismaʿil wrote to the English parliament in 1706 shows how much he was informed about inter-European affairs and rivalry—but also how little he understood Britain's imperial strategy (see translation #14).

The royal courts in Morocco, as well as the regency *diwans*, included bilingual and trilingual officials who received correspondence in Arabic, Spanish, French, Italian, and English—showing the breadth of the information that could be transmitted, translated, and communicated from Europe to North Africa—not always, of course, completely accurately. Letters in the British and French National Archives from Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, and Morocco are in English, French, Turkish, Arabic, Italian, and Spanish. Both Spanish and Portuguese were widely used in Marrakesh during al-Mansur's reign because of the European converts around him.[30] Throughout the region, such converts to Islam sometimes rose to positions of power and continued to converse with foreign nationals in their original languages. Consul Martin of England reported in that the Algerian dey was averse to declaring war "using the Spanyards proverb Con Todo el Muendo Guerra, Pas con Engle tierra"/with war in all the world, peace on English soil.[31] In January Colonel Kirke reported from Tangier about a Moor, "a native of Santa Cruz, a man of disparate fortune, and that seems ready to undertake anything that shall be proposed to him: he speaks English having among the many turns he hath made in the world been some time in England."[32] At the end of the seventeenth century, the French captive Germain Moüette stated, rather exaggeratedly, that in Morocco, Spanish was used more than Arabic—at the same time that another captive, Bernard Bausset, was teaching Spanish to some of Mulay Isma῾il's children.[33] In a letter from Morocco of October 10, 1701, the writer indicated that he could speak the English factor's language.[34] Often Moroccans demanded that treaties signed with European countries be translated not only into Arabic but into Spanish as well. The familiarity with European languages enabled the members of the Algerian *diwan* to be well "acquainted with the Affairs of Europe," noted an English captive.[35] Moriscos often used Spanish titles for English and French addresses, such as Don Carlos Cornwall and Ricardo Congreve.[36]

Ambassadors varied in their attitudes toward Euro-Christians from amicability and admiration to anger and vituperation. In their written and oral reports, they conveyed to their rulers, courts, and communities extensive narratives about the peoples and the lands of Christendom.

AL-NAFHAH AL-MISKIYAH

The first travel account that has survived in toto and that includes descriptions of Western Christians is by Abu Hasan ῾Ali ibn Muhammad ibn ῾Ali Muhammad al-Tamjruti (ca. 1560–1594/1595), ambassador from Morocco to the Ottoman capital, Istanbul. The journey took just under two years, from 1589 to 1591, after which al-Tamjruti wrote *Al-Nafhah al-Miskiyah fi al-Safarah al-Turkiyah* (The Perfumed Breeze in the Turkish Journey).[37] In the account, al-Tamjruti described to his master the preeminence of Christian power in the Mediterranean and the extent of European piracy and danger. His text provides the first portrait of the *nasara* in Western Muslim imagination—a portrait of vague identities and harsh adversarial relations where Christians are neither individualized peoples nor distinct national identities. Rather, they inhabit an alien and dangerous world.[38]

On Saturday 1 Jumada al-Awal 997/March 18, 1589, al-Tamjruti left Tetouan, taking with him many presents to the Ottoman sultan, Murad III. Much as he hated the sea and feared its two dangers, "captivity and drowning," he was eager to visit the city "known to the people of the Maghrib as Istanbul," where he would meet the sultan of the "court of the Turks and *rūm*, sultan of the two continents and the two seas, and custodian of the two holy shrines, the *sahib*/ruler of Great Constantinople, the Khaqan" (20). As soon as he boarded the Algerian ship, the fear that he had anticipated of the Christian pirates overwhelmed him. He sailed from Tetouan to Badis along the North African coastline until the ship anchored in Bejaia, “a great city of old … but now destroyed, torn down by the Christians, may God destroy them” (31). Other locations were still thriving, attesting to the fertility and abundance of the regions. Booqa, reported al-Tamjruti, produces so much jujube that it is known as the “City of Jujube” (24); each month of the year, the fishermen of Bizerte return with a different kind of fish (40). Al-Tamjruti continued to Ras Dar and then Monastir, which used to be of old a lively city, full of scholars and students, but which had so declined that only the citadel remained, and there the inhabitants sought shelter when “surprised by the Christians from the sea” (65). Warily, al-Tamjruti ventured ashore, prayed in the communal mosque, and then hastened back to the ship and sailed off to “al-Mahdiyya, a deserted landscape for foxes and wolves, destroyed by Christians who tore down its pier which had extended out into the sea. It had always been a Muslim city but recently, the Christians devastated it.” When it was first built, he quoted from the medieval geographer Ibn ʿAbd al-Rabihi, it had been one of the “wonders of the world” (67).

This constant reminder of Muslim defeat and Christian victory brought back to al-Tamjruti’s mind the once-glorious history of Islam and its North African legacy. Like many other Muslim travelers before him, al-Tamjruti prepared for his journey by reading about the regions he was about to visit. While European travelers turned to classical sources that described a completely different world from the Islamic one they encountered, Muslim travelers read Arabic accounts that presented a familiar world full of the names and writings of scholars, jurists, and theologians who, centuries after their deaths, were still an inspiration to them. And while Europeans went among new peoples and faces, al-Tamjruti went among throngs of living and dead scholars, holy men and warriors, from the first-century *hijri* when the Muslims conquered the land to the present. Repeatedly, al-Tamjruti quoted from past travelers such as the thirteenth-century Ibn Battuta and the fourteenth-century al-Balawi, sometimes lifting whole passages about mosques, tombs, and Sufi lodges that he saw. Islamic piety had a long history, which al-Tamjruti was rediscovering.

But the more al-Tamjruti quoted earlier travelers, the more he saw how the Islamic past contrasted painfully with the present. From what it had once been, a thriving world of devotion and pious foundations, the North African coastline had become the free range of marauding pirates from Christendom. The more jurists and scholars al-Tamjruti described and praised, the more he alerted his royal master and recipient of his account, Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur, to the danger besetting the Islamic *umma*. Despite the grandeur and power of the

Ottomans, they had not provided safety and assurance to the peoples of North Africa. On the contrary, every pirate danger and every devastated city confirmed for al-Tamjruti the failure of the Ottomans as defenders of the faith against the incursions of the *nasara.* And the more the Ottomans failed, the more the inhabitants grew disenchanted with them, and turned, al-Tamjruti proudly wrote, to al-Mansur for help and protection—especially because the dangers were sometimes compounded by Turkish tyranny over and above Christian piracy.

It is a striking coincidence that as Richard Hakluyt was including the Crusader invasions in his collection of English heroic navigations and travels (1589), so did al-Tamjruti reflect on them—but from the other side of the religious spectrum. For him the horrors of the Euro-Christian invasions in the fifth *hijri* century were still real and haunting at the end of the first *hijri* millennium, and every attack on Muslim territory or ships confirmed the persistence of Europe's anti-Islamic goals. Again, and as he had read geographical and biographical books on North Africa, al-Tamjruti also read about the history of the Crusades and knew exactly what the Crusaders had done, which cities they had conquered, and what devastation they had wrought on the native Muslim populations. And ever since, he lamented, North Africa had continued to change hands, and the invasions that had started with the fall of Jerusalem had not ceased: there were still, confirmed al-Tamjruti, European presidios and colonies on Islamic soil, and the piratical dangers that beset every Muslim traveler in the Islamic Mediterranean perpetuated the terror of the *nasara.*

At this point of anxiety and insecurity, al-Tamjruti turned to the apocalyptic motif. All the dangers and changes, the upheavals and wars, he was certain, pointed to the kings of the Maghrib as the only heirs to the Islamic caliphate. Perhaps he had heard, as the Venetians reported, about the two men in Palestine who had proclaimed themselves prophets and "interpreters of the laws of Mahomet [asserting] that they have been sent by the coming Messiah to lead the people back from darkness to the light and the truth."[39] Evidently, many frauds were seizing the *hijri* millennial moment to proclaim their Mahdist calling. Al-Tamjruti countered that the proof of the caliphal right of the Saʿdian ruler lay in his Qureishite ancestry, and his descent from Fatima, which every royal letter confirmed. He then openly declared that Mulay al-Mansur was the long-awaited Mahdi, having appeared at the end of the millennium from al-Maghrib al-Aqsa, who will "march for forty miles with victory in his hands, and with white and yellow banners" (149). The Saʿdian Mahdi will cleanse the earth of all the "tyranny of the despots of the ʿ*ajam*"/Spaniards (151).

Al-Tamjruti saw the Mediterranean as a dangerous place because Christian pirates wrought havoc on Magharibi coasts and then settled, de-islamicized, and enslaved cities and their inhabitants from Santa Cruz to Oran and from Tetouan to Tunis. Still, despite his fear of those undifferentiated Euro-Christians, al-Tamjruti did not express hostility to the large populations of Christians he met in Istanbul—presumably Greeks and Armenians and Arabs. He sounded no invocation to destroy them. His enmity was directed at the European Christians who were military adversaries, who threatened the seas, who took Muslims captive, and who had destroyed the culture of Islam in numerous coastal regions of North Africa. There was a clear difference for him between the *nasara* who attacked Muslim lands in order to conquer and occupy them, be it during the Crusades or during his own times, and the Christians who lived peacefully in the Ottoman Empire and who had once built churches and cathedrals. While the latter Christians were familiar to him as the *dhimmi* about whom the Qur'an had spoken protectively, the former Christians were the hordes that appeared at sea to threaten and destabilize. They had no name, no face, no national origin, and no ideology—except to ravage Muslim ships and kidnap travelers, pilgrims, traders, and even ambassadors. Such fear would persist as long as travelers saw the memorials of Christian attacks and destructions in deserted villages and harbors. The ruined tombs of holy men, citadels, port cities, and mosques would remain for Muslims, even centuries later, fearsome reminders of Euro-Christian danger and aggression.

AHMAD IBN QASIM AND FAKHR AL-DĪN AL-MAʿNI II

Al-Tamjruti captured the attitude of Western Muslims who, at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the new *hirji* millennium, still did not have a very clear idea about Europeans and therefore viewed them from one uniform perspective of fear and adversariality. Two decades later, changing political and social conditions in the Mediterranean led two other Arab figures, one from the Maghrib and the other from the Mashriq, to describe Europeans in a different manner. The writings of Ahmad ibn Qasim and Prince Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿni II (1572–1635) show the beginnings of varied and complex views about the Europeans in the Arabic world of Islam. A comparison between their two travel accounts will demonstrate how different parts of the Islamic Mediterranean dealt with different parts of the Christian Mediterranean and how differing alliances and strategies dictated differing responses or reactions to Christendom.

Ahmad ibn Qasim traveled to France and Holland between 1611 and 1613, while Fakhr al-Dīn traveled to Italy (Tuscany, Naples, Sicily) and Malta between 1613 and 1618. Their accounts show how the position adopted by Arab travelers, both Mashriqi and Magharibi, toward Europeans/Christians was determined by geography, demography, and history, not by a religious paradigm that was fixed or unnegotiable. Christianity was a variable, and the response or reaction to it was a result not so much of theology as of history. As al-Tamjruti had denounced the European Christians, he had also recognized the role of Eastern Christians in the Ottoman Empire at the same time that he pitied the Euro-Christian galley slaves on his ship. There was not a Christian Other who monolithically dominated all Islamic imagination and belief, nor was there a structural separation with the *nasara* that characterized the “Islamic mind” from Morocco to Mount Lebanon. What the nationality of the Christians was, and what those Euro-Christians had done or not done to Muslims, determined how Muslims viewed them.

Both Ahmad ibn Qasim and Fakhr al-Dīn went on diplomatic missions, and both left accounts of their journeys, the first written by Ibn Qasim himself and the second probably by the Druze leader’s court historian, Ahmad al-Khalidi (d. 1624). Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿni was a regional potentate in Mount Lebanon who fell foul of the Ottomans and fled to Italy seeking refuge. He belonged to the minority sect of the Druzes, an eleventh-century offshoot of Shiʿism that started in Egypt and flourished in Mount Lebanon (and parts of Syria and Palestine). Fakhr al-Dīn left from the port of Sidon with his whole family and court entourage of about seventy men, women, and children, arriving in Italy as refugees in need of financial and political help. He was fleeing to a region he had never visited before. Meanwhile, his Moroccan counterpart was familiar with European society and civilization: he had been born and bred in Spain but had fled to Morocco as a young man after experiencing the bigotry of his Christian homeland. He was perfectly at ease talking, negotiating, and disputing with Christians, as were his companions. He traveled with a select entourage, arriving as royal delegates accorded protection and welcome.

A comparison of the two accounts will show that the attitude toward the Europeans was flexible, not dictated exclusively by religious difference or by the division of the world between Dar al-Harb and Dar al-Islam. Rather, the Arabic attitudes were products of historical interaction, cooperation, and encounter, and went beyond the fixedness of belief. When the Europeans were seen by the author to be hostile to Muslims and to have destroyed his culture and usurped his national heritage, the author/ambassador poured on them his vituperation; but when they were helpful and generous, the visitor praised them with sincere gratitude. Despite belonging to the same linguistic and religious legacy of Arabic, Ibn Qasim and Fakhr al-Dīn did not share the same assumptions or techniques of representation. The Mashriq was the Mashriq and the Maghrib was the Maghrib, and the twain did not meet: Ibn Qasim was a Western Muslim; Fakhr al-Dīn was a Levantine Muslim.

AHMAD IBN QASIM

Ahmad ibn Qasim had been born at just about the time King Philip II began imposing religious and cultural restrictions on the Moriscos (so movingly documented by Franciso Núñez Muley's appeal),[40] after which the great Andalusian revolt, the Alpujarra rebellion, broke out in 1568. By August 1569 plans were afoot in the kingdom of Granada to eradicate the Andalusian presence in the south of Spain, and in October 1570 Don Juan, the king's brother, oversaw the beginning of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Granada to the Castilian north. All Morisco property was confiscated, and children were dispersed in orphanages, where they were to be converted to Christianity. Granada became a scene of daily trials in which Andalusians were condemned to the galleys or the gallows, or dismembered by red-hot pincers.[41] As if displacement and torture were not enough, in 1602 Philip's son and successor, Philip III, initiated an effort to convert them en masse to Christianity. But by 1609 he decided that such conversion was not feasible and ordered their expulsion from all the Iberian Peninsula—an expulsion that continued until 1614 and dispersed the population all around the Atlantic and the Mediterranean: from the Canary Islands to Santa Cruz, Marrakesh, Fez, Tangier, Tetouan, Oran, Algiers, Tunis, Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Istanbul, Salonica, Leghorn, and Genoa. (The Moroccan historian Ahmad al-Maqqari, writing about 1626, mentioned the following cities, too: Salé, Rabat, and Tilimsen.)[42] So desperate were many of the exiles that they tried to return secretly to their native regions (as Cervantes recounted in Ricote's story in part of *Don Quixote*, 1615), only to meet with death upon being discovered. Others turned to piracy and revenge and attacked coastal cities that had once housed their families and history.

The exiles could never forget their lands and the horrors of Christian persecution—which is why, in his account, *Nasir al-Dīn ʿala al-Qawm al-Kafirīn wa huwa al-Saif al-Ash-har ʿala kulli man Kafar: The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels*, Ibn Qasim gave a detailed description of his escape from Spain to Marrakesh, similar to contemporary accounts by European captives who escaped back to their homes from North African slavery. But it was ironic that Ibn Qasim sought to flee not from an alien land to which he had been forcibly taken, but from the land where he had been born and whose culture he had adopted. Despite having been completely integrated into Spanish mores and language, he had remained an anxious outsider, ever apprehensive that one linguistic slip could cost him his life. As he recalled, Christians used to “kill and burn everyone on whom they find an Arabic book or about whom they know he reads Arabic.”[43] Unable to endure his condition any longer, he “emigrate[d] to God and the country of the Muslims”[44]—using the same word that is used in the Qur’an to describe the flight of Lot from among the evildoers (*innī muhajir ila rabbī*, Qur’an, 29:26) or the flight of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Yathrib. Life in Spain had become a trial similar to the Prophet’s among the pagans: escaping Spain, he added, was like escaping the pains of Judgment Day, and arriving among the Muslims was like entry into paradise

Ibn Qasim realized that his journey to Catholic France would be a journey into the land of *shirk*—association of other gods with God. Furthermore, and like other Magharibi, he felt deeply threatened as (Catholic) Portuguese, Spanish, and French presidios started to dominate the North African shorelines. Against such violation, some Magharibi jurists replaced the pilgrimage *fard*/duty to Mecca by jihad against the invaders: Ibn Qasim’s contemporary, al-Maqqari, invoked his readers in *Nafh al-Tīb* to go on jihad against the invading infidels instead of going on the hajj: if you perform the pilgrimage, he wrote, you bring benefit to yourself alone, but if you wage jihad, you help thousands of people who are in despair.[45] As a result, Ibn Qasim treated his journey and his account as an act of jihad, especially after encountering repeated demonstrations of Christian bigotry and ignorance. On numerous occasions during his travels, French men and women accosted him theologically, threatened him for being in their country, and denigrated him just for being a Muslim. Wherever he turned, he met with hostility and condescension: “You surprise us,” they told him. “You know languages, read books, travel through the cities and the regions of the world, and yet, you are a Muslim!”[46] Ibn Qasim fired back by denouncing what he viewed as uncouth and irreligious practices among them. He smirked at their worshipping of idols made of wood in churches where dogs meandered among the worshippers. It was not easy for him and his companions always to remain composed, especially as Christians tried to trick them by offering them food prohibited to Muslims. Fortunately for Ibn Qasim, his mastery of languages enabled him to understand his hosts and avoid their traps.

Nor was it easy for Ibn Qasim to avoid religious disputations. The Catholics were eager to dispute themes at the forefront of Christian rejection of Islam and Muslim rejection of Christianity: prohibition of wine and pork, multiple wives, the alleged physical pleasures of the Qur’anic paradise, circumcision, incarnation, crucifixion, and Trinitarianism. When he was in Bordeaux, Ibn Qasim lodged in the house of a French woman, Madame d’Escouasse, along with two of the Moriscos who had traveled with him. All three performed their Muslim religious duties: “lesquels scandaleusement faisoient profession de la secte de Mahumet, dogmatisoient et faisoient les ceremonies de la religion turquoyse”/which scandalously professed the sect of Muhammad, dogmatically performing the ceremonies of the religion of the Turks. When they were admonished, Ibn Qasim’s friends proclaimed themselves Roman Catholic—and soon professed their faith before the archbishop—while Ibn Qasim was ordered to stay in a separate lodging and not to act in any scandalous manner.[47] As he continued his journey among the French, he met with numerous other occasions of bigotry and anti-Muslim expressions. But as he reported, he possessed superior abilities in refutation and contestation: after all, he had grown up in Christian society and knew the Bible better than many Christians did, even priests. When, after his escape to the presidio of Mazagan, his friend feigned a seizure, Ibn Qasim was able to tell a Spanish priest who came to help him the precise verses from the Gospel of John that were invoked to ward off the jinn. He quoted single verses and long passages from the Old and New Testaments, using the Qur’anic titles of these texts, *tawrat* and *injīl*; he knew exactly where the verses that supported his arguments were, having studied the four gospels and the epistles of Paul—although, as expected of a Muslim, he made by far more references to the gospels than to Paul. He had studied the “three religions,” he explained, and had read refutations of Christianity, including ʿAbdallah al-Turjuman’s formidable *Tuhfat al-Arīb fī-al Radd ʿala Ahl al-Salīb*/The Magnificent [treatise] of the Skilful in Refuting the People of the Cross. He also knew the importance of different translations of the Bible, and often suggested alternative renderings of verses—which produced alternative interpretations congruent with Qur’anic doctrine. Throughout his journey, he relied on a Spanish rather than an Arabic Bible, which is why he transliterated the titles of the books (“genshīsh”/Genesis); only in Egypt did he find an *injīl* in Arabic, from which he copied some passages. As he encountered Christians, he drew power not as much from the royal protection that he was given as from his knowledge of Christianity and Christendom and the certitude of his faith.

Disputation forced many Muslims to learn about Christianity and to prepare to encounter the Other intellectually and theologically.[48] Although such disputations were often tense and belligerent, Ibn Qasim’s attitude to the *nasara* changed when he met with Protestants in Holland, who were not too eager to dispute and, who, importantly, enjoyed a legacy that was innocent of anti-Muslim violence. In such a context, Ibn Qasim expressed admiration and wonder toward those Christians and their country. Amsterdam was the one city in Christendom that he praised fulsomely: “the wonder of its magnificent buildings, its cleanliness, and its immense population. Its buildings were nearly similar to those of Paris in France. There was no city in the world with as many ships as it had … I met somebody who had visited the lands of the East, Sicily and Rome and other cities of the world, and he said to me that he had not seen anything like [this city] in beauty and elegance."[49] In Amsterdam, Ibn Qasim was not blinded by memories of persecution and exclusion, since the Dutch were supportive of the Muslims. They did not "hate the Muslims because they [viewed themselves as] the sword of God in the world against the idol-worshippers. That was why they [Dutch] sided with Muslims."[50] Actually, they had helped the Muslims against Catholic Christians: in 1605, Ibn Qasim reported, the Dutch had attacked Spanish ships, captured and killed the Christians on board, freed the Muslim slaves and sent them back to Morocco as a gift to the sultan. During his meeting with Maurice of Nassau, he described to him the whole episode of the expulsion, providing indirectly to his Arabic readers the first complete translation of Philip III's edict and ensuring that Muslims all around the Mediterranean remembered Catholic violence as opposed to Protestant inclusion. Ibn Qasim was one of the first Muslim writers to encounter, and write about, the European Reformation, discovering in his journey two Christianities rather than one. There were good Christians and bad Christians, and the distinction was based not just on theology (after all, the Dutch were also, as he noted, Trinitarians) but also on the history of their relations with Muslims. Later, Ibn Qasim saw maps of the oceans and of regions that were inhabited by Muslims about whom he knew nothing. Muslims could learn about other Muslims from such Christians.

Ibn Qasim's view of the *nasara* derived from the Mediterranean history of political and religious confrontation/cooperation, and not from exclusively theological predispositions. The popularity of *Nasir al-Dīn* shows that Ibn Qasim was successful in conveying to his Arabic readers, from Egypt to Morocco and "Sudan," a panoramic description of enemies and friends, robbers and generous hosts, bigots and attractive women in the lands of the Christians.

FAKHR AL-DĪN

The account of the journey of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿni to Italy was written by the court scribe, al-Khalidi,[51] who relied for his information on the prince's reminiscences and other *al-ruwat al-thiqa*/reliable narrators and proven demonstration.[52] Fakhr al-Dīn furnished the writer with *mufassala*/detailed description of specific locations and episodes,[53] along with letters he had written during his stay in Italy. The purpose of writing the account, as al-Khalidi explained, was to record *ʿaja'ib*/the marvels that the travelers had seen in *bilad al-nasara*/in the lands of the Christians.[54] Unlike Ibn Qasim, al-Khalidi followed in his account in the tradition of the great Arab writers of *rihla*, from Ibn Jubayr to Ibn Fadlan and Ibn Battuta, and recorded the *ʿajaʾib wa gharaʾib*, derived not from legends and hearsay but from direct observation and verification.[55] All minutiae were recalled to provide an accurate description of Leghorn, Pisa, Florence, Naples, Malta, Sicily, and other locations. The account was a document for the emir's archive, in keeping with a tradition of recording descriptions of foreign lands, a tradition emphasized among Muslim rulers as far back as *The Arabian Nights*. In the absence of previous information about Europe, it was the first report in the Mashriq about the Western lands of the Christians.[56]

Unlike Ibn Qasim's travelogue, this account was no polemical diatribe against Christians because Maronite Catholics in Mount Lebanon were the neighbors and allies of Fakhr al-Dīn. (It is believed that Fakhr al-Dīn had been brought up by a Maronite family after the death of his father.)[57] The enemy in this Arabic text—and Fakhr al-Dīn is praised by al-Khalidi as one of the sons of the Arabs/*awlad al-ʿArab*[58]—is not the Christian European but the Ottoman Turk. Fakhr al-Dīn and his Druze community lived near Maronite Christians who supported them against the Ottomans, from whom both communities wanted to separate. Indeed, the Christian Khazin family, who had strong commercial ties with the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, sent two of their sons with the prince on his journey to Italy: Abu Nadir al-Khazin and Abu Safi al-Khazin.[59] Such support helped the Druze prince consolidate political and military relations with Tuscany and the papacy, as well as with France and Spain.[60]

As soon as the Ottomans got wind of the collusions of the prince, they launched an attack on Fakhr al-Dīn's territory, forcing the prince to flee with his family. Fakhr al-Dīn left Sidon, using one Flemish and two French ships to transport him, his wife, Khaskiyya, and their daughter, his trusted advisor Hajj Kīwan (a Christian), and his family and the rest of his entourage, consisting of a religious microcosm of the Middle East: Druzes, Muslims, Christians, and one Jew.[61] Although he feared the Ottomans, the first danger he met with came not from them but from the notorious Christian pirates of Malta. Near the southern coast of Italy, the pirates boarded his ship, whereupon Fakhr al-Dīn went into hiding, after which the pirates left. Fakhr al-Dīn's other two ships nearly did not escape the pirates, who as soon as they sighted the "Muslims" on board, prepared to attack. Fortunately, strong winds drove them away.

Upon arriving in Leghorn on November 3, 1613, Fakhr al-Dīn received welcome from the governor and from the grand duke, who sent his first secretary, Lorenzo Usimbardi.[62] He was taken to shore and asked to change into new clothes, for fear of the plague, after which he was escorted to the residence of the duke. After ten days, and accompanied by Cosima II, the Druze delegation reached Florence and settled in the grand duke's Palazzo Vecchio, where they began to adjust to the non-Muslim environment with its non–Middle Eastern traditions and customs. By May they had become so settled that Fakhr al-Dīn signed a document seeking permission to live in the "lands of the Christians" until the time he would be able to return to his own country.[63] The hosts may have been aware that their guests were not strict Muslims: as the guests were being given a tour of the artistic wonders of Florence, they visited churches which Fakhr al-Dīn "admired very much."[64] When the prince and his companions saw paintings of the disciples of Jesus and saw on a copper globe "the Jews who crucified the one like Christ, dressed in their olden clothes," no declamation against the idolatry of representation was recorded by al-Khalidi or mouthed by his master; whereas Ibn Qasim fulminated against pictures and statues, because they represented to him all that was idolatrous in Catholic Christianity, the Levantine visitors simply looked. And when they saw paintings of the crucifixion of Christ, which, as Muslims, they rejected, they added the Qur'anic qualification that Jesus had not been crucified, but one like him had, in accordance with Qur'an 4:157. Later, when they met with Capuchin monks, they learned from them that the tonsure was a reminder of the "thorns which the Jews had placed on the head of Christ the day of his crucifixion, as they claim."[65] The fact about crucifixion was stated—and so was the disqualifier—without polarization or conflict. In the letter that Fakhr al-Dīn (or his scribe) soon after sent to the French ambassador of the pope, Count François Savary, he asked for support against the Ottomans in order for the Christians to be able to regain that city where the tomb of "him whom you view as an associate to the creator God" is found.[66] Accommodation rather than confrontation governed the Mashriqi view of Catholic Christianity.

Al-Khalidi described the institutions of government, taxation, money minting, munitions production, trash collecting, and ducal income. These innovations were made not by God, as the *ʿajaʾib* that medieval Arab travelers often described, but by Italians and other Christians. On numerous occasions, al-Khalidi confirmed that what he had seen in Italy was also to be seen in *jamīʿ bilad al-nasara*/all Christian lands: Italy was serving as a window to Christendom. Repeatedly, al-Khalidi used the expression *qalū*/they said, perhaps to explain the variety of opinions that he presented: either the Florentines were confused about information they conveyed to the visitors, or they deliberately did not tell them the truth. Still, the information in the account is factual rather than speculative: having been responsible for buying their own supplies, the visitors had become familiar with the exact market prices of meats and other items, with weights and measurements, and the agricultural cycle; they had also joined the Tuscans in game hunting, fishing, and boar hunting. They learned about dowries given by brides to bridegrooms, which, like all Muslims (and Levantine Christians) in the early modern period, they found bewildering, and they visited monasteries and convents, some of which were for the rich, others for the poor. The report was a product of experience and observation, not imagination.

One striking feature of the account is its neutrality in regard to scenes that always drew anger and vituperation from Muslims: renegades/defectors from the lands of Islam. In Carini, Sicily, the visitors met with people whose clothes were not like those of “the Franks.” They learned from them that they had been living on an island under the rule of the Ottomans, but because of tyranny and cruelty, they migrated to Sicily and prospered. Sicily was of course full of Islamic history, which the visitors could not help but see. In Palermo they received a warm welcome in the “great city” where they met Muslim residents—“descendents of the Hafside Kings of Tunis of the West whose arrival to the King of Spain is famous and described in the books of history.” Events that had taken place just under half a century earlier were quite familiar to the visitors. Outside the city wall, they saw an “Islamic mosque from the days of the Fatimids. For of old the island was in their hands. The mosque still stands with its domes.”[67] Again, there was neither lamentation for the loss of Islam nor denunciation of Christian usurpation. Even when the visitors came across Muslim slaves in the bagnios of Leghorn, they did not record anger or vituperation, in the manner that every other visitor from the Islamic world did at the sight of coreligionists in chains. It was ironic that a few years earlier, Cosima II had sent his fleet against Muslim ports in North Africa. In 1607 the knights of Santo Stefano, who were stationed in Leghorn, had “burned Bône, the principal commercial port of eastern Algeria, killing people and taking 1,500 captives.”[68] Some of the slaves whom Fakhr al-Dīn saw may well have been those who had been captured in that foray.[69]

On a visit to Malta, Fakhr al-Dīn saw the palace of the “Grand Maestro” and learned about the knights: they were celibate, like monks, numbered around twelve thousand, and resembled the “Janissaries of Syria.” Only men of noble descent could join them: they came with letters of recommendation, and if they were accepted, they were sent corsairing. The Maltese offered him a banquet in the garden of the grand maestro, but Fakhr al-Dīn refused, unwilling to have them incur expenses because of his visit. Later, he regretted not having gone to the garden, as it was one of the wonders of the world. When he left the island, he was given a large quantity of “goats, chicken, sweets, desserts, spices, bread, and vegetables.”[70] In the presence of the most anti-Muslim soldiers in the Mediterranean, Fakhr al-Dīn remained noncommittal. Not only did he not denounce them for their piracy and brigandage against coreligionists from North Africa and the Levant, but he also accepted their gifts with profuse gratitude. And the fact that they had helped the Spaniards in the 1609 expulsion of the hundreds of thousands of Moriscos found no mention in al-Khalidi’s account.

As the Druze prince and his company sailed away from Naples back to Mount Lebanon on August 6, 1618, they carried with them a detailed knowledge—and appreciation—of *bilad al-nasara*. In this respect, Khalidi’s account is the first full-fledged attempt by an Arab Muslim writer to mediate European civilization to his home community. No other writer before al-Khalidi had attempted to make the European unfamiliar so accessible and exciting—and transferable. Soon after his return, Fakhr al-Dīn called on Tuscan architects to build him a “Qaysariyah”/Caesarea in his capital, Deir al-Qamar, for the production and sale of silk, and within two years, he authorized the building of a marketplace for the French, *Khan al-Ifranj*, in Sidon. He also gave permission to the Franciscans to excavate Nazareth, and in 1622 he gave permission to the Capuchins to establish missions in Beirut and Sidon. Although it is not known when exactly al-Khalidi wrote the account at the behest of the prince, the mood that dominated the Druze court and community was clearly favorable to Christians—including the European Christians. By 1629 trade was flourishing as Tuscans bought silk, oil, cotton, rice, and beans, sold gunpowder and munitions, and offered presents to the prince and his court in the form of furs and tobacco.[71] Aware of the need to modernize his community, Fakhr al-Dīn requested a physician, an apothecary, and a civil engineer to provide medical expertise and to build roads and waterways. He also asked for a baker to teach soldiers the secret of making biscuits—the still popular *signiora*.

Al-Khalidi/Fakhr al-Dīn and Ibn Qasim came from different regions in the Islamic world and drew on different personal abilities and on different legacies in Euro-Islamic relations. The latter was linguistically versatile, managing to communicate in Italian, French, and Spanish; he was also a scholar, learned in theological history, widely read in Spanish and Arabic, and, given his ambassadorial rank, at ease among his Christian interlocutors. But he wrote his account to an audience that had never known or heard about any European Christians other than those who had celebrated the burning of Muslims or gloated at their expulsion from Christendom. He came from a community and wrote to a community for whom the Christians were religiously adversarial, militarily aggressive, and territorially threatening. His text was thus a form of spiritual and intellectual jihad, as al-Qaddūri has carefully shown,[72] and his purpose was not so much to describe the Europeans as to present a glimpse of the suffering of his Morisco community. He wrote more about his arguments and refutations and resistance than about his hosts. Meanwhile, al-Khalidi/Fakhr al-Dīn was neither as versatile nor as culturally exposed as Ibn Qasim had been. But Fakhr al-Dīn came from a region where Christians were allies—which is why at no point in al-Khalidi's account is there mention of a disputation with the Christian hosts. Nor is there a single criticism of anything Christian, either theological or ecclesiastical. Instead, al-Khalidi wrote about everything that was absent in his own country, indirectly attesting to the underdeveloped social and governmental institutions in Mount Lebanon. The information he provided was direct—as if al-Khalidi/Fakhr al-Dīn wanted readers to imitate the Europeans. After all, both Tuscany and Mount Lebanon were Mediterranean regions of similar climates and natural resources, and there was no reason not to do at home what the Tuscans did in their own country. Their account was about Christendom and its novelties, and they were not embarrassed to list and praise the advances they saw in *bilad al-nasara*, unlike Ibn Qasim, who contrasted the two religious civilizations only to affirm the superiority of Islam over Christianity (if not necessarily of Dar al-Islam over Christendom). Whereas Ibn Qasim found nothing to admire during his visit and wrote in brief and abrupt sentences, al-Khalidi/Fakhr al-Dīn found much to admire in Christendom and wrote in a relaxed manner, as the numerous colloquialisms attest. It is perhaps most revealing that Fakhr al-Dīn's account is full of precise references to the names of the hosts, as if the writer were eager to make the Other known to the readers; Ibn Qasim's account retains the otherness of the host so much that very few names are mentioned. (Not even Erpenius, his friend, is mentioned by name.) In this unwillingness on the part of Ibn Qasim to "gaze" at the European hosts, he missed presenting to his readers the very important information about the economic and industrial transformation in Europe. It is to the credit of al-Khalidi/Fakhr al-Dīn that they recognized the importance of Italy's development and wealth and understood how the new technologies and naval innovations made that wealth possible. For Ibn Qasim, the Christians were dangerous; for Fakhr al-Dīn, they were impressive.

Just as the different backgrounds of the two men determined the difference in their attitudes toward the Christians, so too did they determine the difference in their attitudes toward the Ottomans. Fakhr al-Dīn saw the enemy as the Turks and the ally as the *nasara*; Ibn Qasim saw the enemy as the *nasara* and the ally as the Turks. Ibn

Qasim had, of course, lived in *bilad al-nasara* and knew the dangers of Christian war technology, which was why he praised the Ottomans, who had been able to adapt that technology for the protection of Muslims. Living in the only Islamic region of the Mediterranean independent of the Ottomans, he was not unwilling to praise them. Only the Ottomans, he felt, could halt Christian expansion into Islamic North Africa. Fakhr al-Dīn viewed the Ottomans not as liberators or defenders of the faith but as occupiers whom he wanted to oust. With Maronite support, he went to the Euro-Christians seeking their help for liberation from Ottoman hegemony. It is not known whether during his time in Pisa, Fakhr al-Dīn visited the church of Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri, with its recently completed wooden ceiling panels, one of which showed the defeat of the Ottoman navy at Lepanto. Such representation would not have irked the prince who had traveled to Christendom to muster support against those same Ottomans. For Ibn Qasim, the journey to Christendom confirmed his sense of allegiance to Islam: the new lands helped him understand himself not just as a Moroccan but also as a Muslim supported by the Ottoman sultan. Fakhr al-Dīn was challenged by his experience among the Christians, which is why he is believed to have converted to Christianity at the end of his life.

The contrast between the two accounts demonstrates the importance of precise and specific contextualization of early modern Islamic documents. While Dar al-Islam may have often appeared monolithic to Europeans ignorant of denominational and political differences, as well as of historical enmities and rivalries, it was a highly complex and varied region. Muslim attitudes toward Christendom were not uniform and undifferentiated: some Christians were “infidels” and “unbelievers” to some Muslims, but to others they were to be engaged politically, commercially, and even, as did happen with Ahmad ibn Qasim, emotionally. Similar differences in attitude toward Christendom appear among other writers as well. When the Egyptian-based geographer/historian Ibn Zenbel wrote about Spain in 1573, *Tuhfat al-Mulūk wa-l Ragha’ib fī al-Barr wa-l Bahr min al-ʿAja’ib wa-l Ghara’ib*/The Gift and Desire of Kings in Land and Sea about Miracles and Wonders, he revealed an open, even an admiring, attitude toward the Christians, quite unlike the account about that same country in 1690 by the Moroccan ambassador al-Ghassani. From the distance of Egypt, firmly under the protection of the Ottoman superpower, Ibn Zenbel lamented the loss to Christianity of a land that had produced great Muslim scholars, but he put the blame for the loss of the land on the shoulders of the Muslims themselves—which is why at no point did he blame or vilify Christianity. After all, in Egypt, the Christians lived as a thriving minority and posed no military or cultural danger to the powerful empire of the Ottomans. For Ibn Zenbel there was nothing inherently adversarial or aggressive about the *nasara*.[73] Al-Ghassani, on the other hand, was the first Arabic writer to visit, and subsequently describe, Spain after the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. In *Rihlat al-Wazīr fī Iftikak al-Asīr*/ The Journey of the Minister to Ransom the Captive, he, as a descendant of the exiles, expressed repeated hostility to Spaniards in particular, and to Christians in general. His vituperation was a reaction to the violence against his people by the "worshippers of the Cross" and the devastation that those worshippers had inflicted on the legacy of Islam. The difference between his anger and Ibn Zenbel's coolness was predicated upon political and religious changes, and not structural factors. Clearly, even the same region in Christendom elicited different responses or reactions from different Arab-Muslim writers.[74] As in the study of European documents, the study of Arabic and other Muslim documents should be approached historically and geographically. The precise context of a text, including its authorship, political environment, and particular reasons for composition, is necessary for accurate evaluation.

THE WIDENING EXPOSURE

With the increase in trade and diplomatic relations between Western Islam and Western Christendom during the seventeenth century, ambassadors who went to Spain, France, Holland, Italy, or England reported about the social and infrastructural differences they saw. Letters in Arabic, French, English, and Spanish translations, and other writings by the European hosts, provide useful information about Muslim views of Christendom. The Moroccan ambassador to England in 1682, for instance, visited Whitehall, and "Westminster-Hall/There to espy and there discover all …. To th' Abby he repairs, and there doth see/Effigies of Nobles sent on Embassie./And so to Westminster-School he doth repair,/To see that place where Learning is most rare."[75] When later one of his retinue quarreled with him, he left the ambassador and went to stay with an apothecary next door;[76] enough familiarity and friendship had been established with a local Englishman to permit such an arrangement. Such information, as well as other information from Holland, France, and Spain, has sometimes survived only in non-Arabic sources, among them petitions, lists, poems, newspaper accounts, autobiographies, and memoirs. Although Euro-Christian prejudice and ignorance colored some of the accounts about the Muslims, these sources remain helpful.

Ambassadors and envoys traveled to their European destinations accompanied by an entourage averaging ten to twenty or thirty assistants, including scribes and translators, cooks and porters, religious advisors and legal experts. Throughout their visits, ambassadors moved around with their whole entourage, because safety was in numbers—not only safety from the local crowds, which sometimes could become hostile, but also the safety gained by watching over each other and reporting about each other to a possibly suspicious ruler back home. The delegation was a mini-community, self sufficient and cohesive, with the ambassador asserting full control over it. Indeed, the ambassador had the power to punish and restrain, and it was his duty to ensure proper conduct in the foreign land. Sometimes the delegations included members of the ambassador's own family (sons but never wives, although on one occasion female slaves were included) as well as merchants, who would initiate business contacts and facilitate the transfer of goods. The Libyan ambassador to France in June 1704, Hajj Mustapha Agha, took his son with him on his visit—whereupon King Louis XIV commented favorably on his physiognomy.[77] Other members of the delegation included three sub-Saharan slaves, one of whom was Hajj ʿUthman, who, despite having been manumitted, had not left his master. There were also two men whose sisters were in the ambassador's harem, along with "Ibrahim, domestique blanc, & Yanaky, Marchand Grec … Ahmed Marchand Turc"[78]—a microcosm of the diversity among the subjects of the dey. The ambassadorial delegation of Hajj Qasim to England in 1720 included a secretary, a steward, a coffee maker, a messenger, a "Wardrober," three attendants, a tailor, a barber, two cooks, two footmen, "2 Blacks Peter, and Abdrahman," a "Mute," Musa the porter, and a groom.[79] The delegation accompanying the Moroccan ambassador to England in 1726 numbered twenty men, including a mufti, a scribe, an accountant, cooks, translators, and chamberlains. Whenever horses or "exotic" animals (lions, giraffes, antelopes) were taken as presents to the European courts, attendants would also accompany the delegation.

Names of the members of the accompanying delegation were sent in advance to the minister of foreign affairs in the host country so that the visitors would be given permission to land. After their arrival, delegation members often traveled to as many places, met as many people, and looked at as many museums, libraries, colleges, and churches as they could. They were always interested, curious, even intrusive, asking sensitive questions about military affairs and inquiring about a vast range of issues, from national policies to medical cures. Nearly always, the Muslims noted the religious practices and institutions of their hosts and engaged, or were forced to engage, in polemics. The visits provided them with opportunities to learn about Euro-Christian societies and to interact with men and women, courtiers and priests, physicians and lawyers. On some occasions, ambassadors hired locals to help them out, thereby building close relationships of trust and cooperation.[80] They enjoyed very much reading the print media, which were quite novel to them: the Moroccan ambassador in London in 1707 was shocked to read in the daily *Courant* a report about the death of Mulay Ismaʿil, who was still robust and very much alive.[81] The ambassadors also enjoyed local events, attended royal celebrations, and indulged themselves in "public recreations," the expenses of which were covered by their hosts.[82] Sometimes they became so familiar with the environment that they felt confident they could handle difficult situations without the help of their local liaison agents. When the Moroccan ambassador Joseph Diaz was delayed in Plymouth in September 1707, he wrote to Jezreel Jones asking for his help, but then he added, "if you are not willing to stirr in this for us, let us know, and we will return in our person to London and shift for ourselves there where we are acquainted with some Merchts."[83] Actually, when Jones tried to hide from the members of the delegation because of their persistent demands, he was surprised that "these people, I know not by what means, have found me out."[84] Often ambassadors hired local servants and professionals to help them manage affairs. The Armenian ambassador of Morocco in 1711 recruited numerous servants, who kept him abreast of local events and news in London.[85]

The ambassadors who wrote accounts about their journeys used rhetorical conventions of composition that were dictated by their court and royal setting. They were always formal in their tone, and careful about accuracy and detail. They transliterated terms, names, and titles from the European context and rarely compared what they saw with their own countries. Many copies of the travelogue were made during the author's life, as Ahmad ibn Qasim stated in his account, and as the anonymous scribe noted about the travelogue by al-Ghassani, "he [al-Ghassani] died of illness in his house which is on the Ratl street in Fez of [the mosque of] the Qarawiyīn in the year 1119 [1707] after he had made numerous copies."[86] The accounts about Europe were popular and circulated within the court and among the general public. Even in distant Fez, readers of al-Ghassani's account about Spain learned about Carlos II and the Escorial, monks and nuns and mosques-turned-cathedrals. As the reproduction of the manuscripts shows, interest in information about Europe continued well into the early twentieth century: a manuscript of al-Ghassani's journey was again copied in September 1921.[87]

On numerous occasions spies were included in the retinues of ambassadors. In 1682, when the Moroccan ambassador Muhammad ibn Haddu was preparing to leave for England, and negotiations in regard to his entourage were under way,[88] Mulay Ismaʿil insisted on including "Jonas an English Renegade" in the group, which caused Colonel Kirke in Tangier some consternation, since, as he explained, he would acquire "a view into the posture of our affairs in England, which ought as carefully to be concealed from those people, as they endeauor to keep us ignorant in theirs."[89] But there was no stopping Ismaʿil from sending a native speaker who could inform him in detail about the affairs of state in England. Indeed, soon after his arrival, a Jew by the name of Bonan was also sent to keep the Moroccan court apprised of the activities of the delegation and, added Colonel Kirke in his letter from Tangier on January 25, 1683, to "have an eye upon our counsells at home, and to pick up such remarks as may be of most service."[90]

Some ambassadors were selected by their rulers to go to Europe because they had traveled widely and had been exposed to the societies of the *nasara*. Some were therefore sent more than once to more than one country: Muhammad ibn ʿAskar was sent by Muhammad al-Sheikh al-Asghar to England and then to Holland; Suleyman Buluk Bashi traveled from Algiers to France in 1695 after having served as ambassador to England and Holland; the Tunisian envoy in London informed Joseph Morgan that he had been "almost all over Turkey, and in some Parts of Italy and France, and in coming hither, I had a View of some Places in Germany and Holland."[91] Others were scholars, translators, or chroniclers, while some were courtiers and jurists. Andalusians were the most active ambassadors, recognized for their skill and familiarity with Christian culture and, in their correspondence with their European counterparts, their pride in their European heritage and origin. In 1610 the Moroccan ruler, Mulay Zaydan, sent Ahmad ibn ʿAbdallah on a diplomatic mission to Holland, of "natione Gantaber & familia Marron. Dat. Marrochii in principio anni mille & vigintiunum de Hexara [Hijra] Domini nostrie Mahumetis"/of the Gantaber (?) family and the Maron family, having left Morocco at the beginning of the year 1021 of the Hijra of our Master Muhammad.[92] As he was at the dinner table, the prince of Orange asked him about the "Mauri" view of Jesus, to which "Ben-Abdala," as his name was printed, promised to respond in writing. He did so in a treatise that was subsequently translated into Latin and appeared in print just about a century later: Ahmet Ben-Abdala, *Mohammedani epistola theologica de articulis quibusdam fidei ad serenissimos Auriacum et Portugalliae principes* (written 1612, publ. 1705).[93]

In what language Ben-Abdala wrote it or how it ended up in Latin is not certain, but *The Historical and Critical Reflection* (1712) included the following explanation:

> Mr. Goetz of Leipsick, who copy'd it at Oxford, and communicated it to Grape, believes it was translated from the Arabick, which to me does not seem probable. Ahmet Ben Abdala had doubtless learn'd Latin in Spain, where there are several Moriscos, some of whom are rais'd to Ecclesiastical Dignitys.[94]

However, the Latin text includes some misspellings that suggest a translation from Arabic into Latin, and at the very end there is mention that the author signed his name in Arabic. The text reveals the extent of Ben-Abdala's familiarity with Christian doctrine as well as with the writings of Muslim jurists ("Zidi Mehemet Elemuci, & Zidi Mahomet Eleir").[95] Repeatedly, in the course of the text, Ben-Abdala addressed himself to his "Serenissimi Principes"/most serene princes, as if writing a traditional Arabic *risala*/disquisition, explaining his religion and refuting, very politely, some of the Christian doctrines that are antithetical to Islam. Had the original version survived, it might have shown whether Ben-Abdala's "Credo in unum solum DEUM"/I believe in one God, and the rest of his confession of faith,[96] was his own formulation of the Islamic *shahadah*/profession or was the translator's echoing of the opening of the Nicene Creed.

Ben-Abdala presents his argument in the form of a disputation, where the Christian position is stated first ("Christiani dicunt"/Christians say), followed by his response ("respondeo" or "Murie tenemus"/I respond; the Moors maintain). As can be expected, Ben-Abdala's main focus is on the erroneous doctrine of the Trinity, a doctrine that he understood in great technical detail—or so at least the translation shows. "Sed," at one point he asks, "Christus D. N. JESUS, qvem dicunt esse DEUM & hominem, qvando in aeternitate erat in Patre, non erat in ventre Virginis Mariae, sed potius, postqvam DEUS creavit Virginem Mariam, venit prius in ventrem ejus, qvare ergo vocant Deum eum, qvi mutat locum qvem antea non habebat?"/But, Christ Jesus, why do they call him God and man, when He was eternally in the Father, but not in the womb of the Virgin Mary; but rather, when God created the Virgin Mary and came first in her womb, why therefore do they call him God who changes place which before He did not have?[97] While Ben-Abdala shows his detailed knowledge of Christian teachings, he does not, unfortunately, mention his impressions of the country, nor does he say anything about how his audience reacted to his arguments (although the 1705 edition includes extensive refutations in the footnotes, exceeding in length the original polemic). Ben-Abdala presents a theological discourse, demonstrating careful reading of the New Testament, especially the "Evangelio Johannis" with its promise of the Paraclete, which Muslims applied to

Muhammad. He had a sharp mind that tore through the Christian doctrines antithetical to Islam: the trinity, incarnation, original sin, and redemption, “Averte tantum errorem”/turn away from [all these] errors.[98]

The text also shows Ben-Abdala’s familiarity with the differences in Christian tradition, “Calvinistae Lutherani, Anabaptistae, & tandem, omnes illie, qvi faciunt Pontificem vel Papam mendacem”/Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists and all those who say the Pontiff or the Pope lies.[99] He reminds readers how the Church of Rome condemns all Calvinists and Lutherans for their doctrinal differences, while the followers of Islam, who extend as far as India and “Tartaria,” all concur on the oneness of God and the prophethood of Muhammad.[100] There was unity in Islam but conflicts in Christianity. Aware of how hostile the Dutch were to the Spaniards, and how much Protestants hated Catholics, he seizes the opportunity to inveigh against the latter for expelling his ancestors from Spain. He recalls the Spanish violence against the Muslims a hundred years earlier and the burning of the Moors who refused to submit to the worship of images. He emphasizes how much Moors/Muslims clung to their religion: even when forced to convert, they devised a few sentences for their children to memorize, thereby continuing the faith: “Filii tamen ejus semper sunt integri, & corde Mauri”/their sons always are virtuous and Moors (Muslims) at heart. Ben-Abdala then contrasts Christians who converted to Islam and remained firm in their new faith with those Christians who killed other Christians “adorantes imagines”/adoring images—an allusion to the Protestant-Catholic confrontation in Holland and other parts of Europe.[101] He also entered into disputation with a Jew, Chibbut Hakkepher—a disputation that was translated and attached to the discussion of the Muslim articles of faith. Like Ibn Qasim’s account, Ben-Abdala’s record of his journey to Europe reveals more a journey into intellectual confrontation and religious disputation than a journey to discover the *ghara’ib* of Christendom. It is a journey of discussion, analysis, argumentation, refutation, and counter-refutation.

While Ben-Abdala focused on theology, other Muslim visitors went with their hosts to see standard “tourist” spots, more interested in entertainment than in debates. Eager to impress their North African guests with the wonders of their modernity, the hosts devised the same itinerary for visitors, so that they would have a uniform knowledge about the country. The French, always most generous with their guests, even made sure that the visitors saw the same plays, one of which was Molière’s *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670), which ambassadors from the regencies particularly liked since it included a Turkish character. France received numerous visitors from Muslim rulers trying to free captives and find allies against Spain. In 1682 the

Spanish- and Italian-speaking Moroccan ambassador Hajj Muhammad Temīm, governor of Tetouan, went to France, accompanied by a "Suite." He visited the Louvre, which he pronounced "trop grand."[102] In July 1684 an ambassador from the Algerian *diwan* arrived in Paris with twelve associates.[103] They visited Versailles "pour voir le Château"/to see the castle, and then went on a ride on the canal and then to Trianon. Later they visited the grand gallery, the baths, and all the adjacent apartments where the ambassador proclaimed that "le plus Grand Empereur du Monde eust aussi le plus riche & le plus superbe Palais"/the greatest emperor of the world has the greatest riches and the greatest palace.[104] By the week after, the ambassador had visited the royal library[105]—a much-desired stop by Muslim travelers because of the collection of Arabic books and manuscripts. He was so impressed by France that he wrote a book about its wonders—now lost. Similarly, the Moroccan ambassador to France in that same year became so excited about French culture and society that he started learning French, in the Parisian accent.[106] Although he and other ambassadors realized that they were in unfamiliar, and not always friendly, territory, they did not see themselves in enemy land. Nor did they feel that they should not enjoy themselves: actually, many ambassadors relished the social interactions, the dinners, and the galas—although there were some envoys who made a point of recording their disaffection at the festivities in the reports they sent back to their rulers. It was prudent to show disdain to the follies of the "infidels," and in the Arabic accounts, the ambassadors refrained from expressing delight—but the European sources recorded that delight. The visitors were never fully able to hide their admiration, their wonder, and, possibly, their envy from their observant hosts. It is not surprising that some ambassadors stayed long after their missions were completed.[107]

Having previously seen many portraits of King Louis XIV,[108] Ambassador Temīm was not unfamiliar with the monarch and acted with all due decorum throughout his stay—even when the librarian at the College des Quatre Nations ridiculed "the religion of Mahomet."[109] Temīm had to swallow his pride and act in accordance with the codes of diplomatic civility that his host had ignored. Ambassadors confronted religious bigotry and danger among some of their hosts: it was one of their major challenges, and nearly all mentioned such encounters and the manner in which they had (inevitably) prevailed. But not all ambassadors wrote about religious zeal. Actually, some were accused of endangering their religion while traveling among the Christians. In 1709 the Moroccan ambassador returned from a visit to England to find himself accused by a Turk whom he had helped in Lisbon of "loseing his Religion, committing disorderly actions …

abominable & unnatural sins not fit to be named."[110] Whether the accusations were accurate or calumnious is not clear—although Mulay Isma ʿil believed them and threw the ambassador in jail. Other visitors indulged themselves: Hajj Mustapha became so excited during the July 25, 1704, celebrations on the birth of the duke of Bretagne that he drank a glass of champagne, clearly breaking his religious codes, after which he smashed it on the wall, saying, in French (which he spoke fluently), "Ainsi soient brisée les testes de tous les ennemis du Roy, Vive le Duc de Bretagne"/May all the testicles of the King's enemies be broken this way, long live the Duke of Birtany.[111] Alcoholic drink always posed a challenge to Muslims, and every writer made a point of recording how he and his companions had abstained—an abstinence that European observers often, not always, confirmed. When al-Ghassani and his delegation reached Mora in Spain, they noticed how the land around it was fertile and cultivated with grapevines. People in this country, wrote al-Ghassani, rarely drank water; and "despite drinking wine, rarely was any of them drunk or unconscious." Al-Ghassani was quite confused, for his religion forbade wine drinking on the grounds that it led to inebriation and drunkenness, and yet there he was before a whole society that drank and functioned well: "men and women and boys, male and female."[112] The world of the *nasara* was sometimes bewildering, but also enticing and intriguing.

Muslim ambassadors took gifts with them with which they hoped to impress and flatter their hosts. Their gifts were always exotic animals, foods, animal skins, feathers, amber, and sometimes captives. Somehow, they rarely thought that local handicrafts or indigenous products would be appreciated by the affluent Europeans—although sometimes they included rugs. Horses, the famous "Barbary," were the most sought-after gifts by European royalty (and armies in times of inter-European conflict), and the Magharibi obliged. In October 1627 a Tunisian envoy from Yusuf Dey went to Marseilles, taking with him four Arabian horses as a sign of amity between the two peoples.[113] In March 1660 Ramadan, officer of the *diwan* in Tunis, went to France to negotiate numerous issues, including the release of Muslim captives;[114] the *Gazette* reported that he presented to the French king "tres beau chevaux barbes"/very beautiful Barbary horses.[115] On March 3, 1685, an ambassador visited France, accompanied by his son. As gifts, they offered some "curiositez" from their country,[116] along with twelve Barbary horses.[117] On May 11, 1695, an Algerian envoy presented to the French monarch ten Barbary horses on behalf of the *diwan*, horses that had been given by the Moroccan king after his defeat in battle.[118] In May 1701 an Algerian ambassador arrived in Madrid[119] bringing with him two lions and two horses. In June 1704 the Libyan ambassador to Paris took with him "excellentes Jumens

Arabes" and "Cheveaux."[120] As war broke out between Britain and France at the end of the seventeenth century, Britons tried their hardest to import horses from North Africa and deny the French access to that important battle necessity.

Although the ambassadors always took gifts, the gifts they received from their European hosts were what really mattered to them. Some of these gifts were in the form of money for provisions and expenses. The Spanish king gave al-Ghassani one hundred piasters per day—while other gifts consisted of instruments and tools that reflected the innovations in European craft and industry, and the extent of European expansion and trade to China and "India," both East and West.[121] Muslims were eager to learn about the "new" world and its products. When in October 1691 the Moroccan ambassador had finished his negotiations in France, he left for England on an English corsair ship that had captured a Portuguese ship near the coast of Guinea. On board, he was able to see, for the first time in his life, rich "Orientales" merchandise.[122] Such merchandise served not only to exhibit the wealth of the European giver but also to provide inducements for trade and exchange: the Europeans wanted to create a market demand for their manufactured products in Islamic North Africa. The gifts were thus intended to stun and to advertise—especially since they reached the rulers who had the power to authorize trade and import.

As early as July 1600 Thomas Bernhere advised Edward Wright to take some scientific instruments with him as a present to Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur:

> This King Muley Hamet is much delighted in the studie of astronomie and astrologie, and valueth instruments serving for the course of the sunne and monne that are of rare device, exceedingly: wherefore your speare, your watch, your mundane diall and your sextans, your new magneticall instrument for declination, or any astrolabe that hath somewhat extraordinarie in it, will be accepted.[123]

He continued by suggesting that some items have Arabic inscriptions on them, thereby introducing custom-made exports to the Islamic world. North African rulers did not sign commercial or diplomatic agreements before first receiving gifts of European workmanship. Gifts from France often consisted of delicatessen items, various kinds of wines, and cloth: the list of presents to the Tunisian *diwan* in July 1629 included "vin" and "confitures de plusieurs sortes"/wine and preserves of various kinds, "prunes de Brignoles"/prunes from Brignoles, and "vinaigre roast" and "eau de vie"/roasted vinegar and brandy.[124] Meanwhile gifts from England consisted of technical and military instruments: the list of British gifts to Mulay Ismaʿil on March 13, 1704, included “A marine Barrometer,” “A large Double Microscope with an Arabic Inscription on the Pillar of Brass (signifying God hath created strange and wonderfull things for Our Instruction, And his Power is in all Generations) with all things belonging thereto”; “A Fine Repeating Clock with Numericall arabic and figures on the dyall plate, and God is only True in Arabic on the top Plate at the home of twelve set to Arabic tunes.”[125] The question of what the tunes were is an intriguing one. Western products were gradually making their way into the palaces and residences of Western Islam—sometimes with motifs specifically designed for the Muslim markets.

Some Magharibi ambassadors were able to establish personal ties that went beyond their official duties because they had family relations in the host country, or had originally come from there. In 1686 the treasurer of the Algerian *diwan*, Hassan Agha, was eager to visit France to see once more his (French) mother before her death; his brother-in-law, Barthelemy Mercadier, was the translator to the French consul in the city. Both of the men had strengthened French-Algerian diplomatic, commercial, and personal relations.[126] There were blood relations across the religio-geographical divide between siblings who converted to Islam and others who remained steadfast in their Christianity. Other envoys had visited the countries before and had established contacts and even made friends. Mustafa Agha had been to France once before and had gone to England three years earlier.[127] Upon meeting again with Mr. de Vauvré in Paris in 1704, he “renouvella avec lui leur ancienne connoissance”/renewed with him their previous acquaintance. Another acquaintance he met was Father Phulemon, ransomer of captives, who had earlier been to Tripoli, where the ambassador had helped him in gathering material for his book, *Royaumes de Barbarie, Tripoli, Tunis & Alger*.[128] There was even emotional intimacy between one ambassador and his host community. During the visit of a Libyan envoy, reported the *Mercure Galant,* the Muslim met Mr. de Pontchartrain, who introduced him to Madame d’Expilly, daughter of the former French consul in Tripoli—whereupon the envoy exclaimed that the consul had promised him “sa fille dans le temps qu’elle estoit à Tripoli, où elle a demueuré depuis l’âge de deux ans jusques à huit. Mr de Ponchartrain fit beaucoup d’honesteté à cette Dame, & Monsieur le Duc qui estoit present, dit à l’Envoyè qu’il avoit raison de soûtenir son procés, & que cette Dame le meritoit bien, étant belle, bien faire & ayant beaucoup d’esprit.”[129] There was desire on the part of Magharibi to establish lasting ties—through marriage.

European newspaper writers, poets, and diarists always recorded their impressions of the “exotic” visitors. Such reporting depended on the personality of the ambassador—how engaging, articulate, and suave he was—and also on his hosts—how interested they were in the "Mahometans." It also depended on the balance of power between the countries, the nature of the negotiations, and the demands that each was making on the other. Muhammad ibn Haddu spent six months in England exploring the new culture to which he had become exposed. Before he left, he went on a shopping spree for gunpowder and cloth and carried with him back to Morocco so many gifts and purchases that one ship was not enough to contain them all. The ambassador visited the University of Cambridge, where his secretary, notwithstanding being "a mahometan," was awarded a degree, showing the respect with which he (as well as other "ambassadors and foreign princes") was received by the university.[130] He also visited churches. Indeed, on March 21, 1682, he visited the site where the new St. Paul's was rising and "gave guineas to the workmen."[131] Earlier in February he had visited the king's chapel, where he declared:

> we have Beene Towld that the Christians worship a god mad of wood or Stone wch they may throw into the fiarre e see Consumed e this we have believed but I have this day with my Eyes I thank God … [I have] seene the Contrary I doe believe the English Nation the best people in Europ.[132]

He had learned enough to change his views about the Protestant religion and to take those changes with him to Morocco. He was also to challenge English views about Islam: upon receiving a letter from the professor of Arabic at Oxford, Edward Hyde, asking him about the references in the Qur'an to the paradisal garden awaiting the souls after death, the ambassador replied, perhaps aware of Christian tendencies to exaggerate the physicality of the garden joys in order to denigrate Islam, that "Paradise was such a Place, to which nothing in this World could be liken'd: such as neither Eye hath seen, nor Ear heard, neither hath it enter'd into the Heart of Man."[133] Such religious exchange and interaction could not but have changed some Muslim views about Christianity, providing insights and correctives that would travel with the ambassador back to North Africa. When the Libyan ambassador went to the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, he was stunned by the chanting of the choir and exclaimed that he could not believe that "gens qui prient Dieu avec tant de zele & de magnificence soient damnez. N'est-ce pas une espece de Paradis en ce monde? Cette Musique resemble à celle de Anges, ell enleve le Coeur vers Dieu"/people who pray to God with such zeal and are surrounded by such magnificence would be damned [after all, they were praying from within the falsity of Christian doctrine]. Was there not something of paradise in this world? Their music resembles that of angels, elevating the heart toward God.[134]

In a letter of October 27, 1682, the Moroccan ambassador Ibn Haddu wrote King Charles about how he had described his reception in England to Mulay Ismaʿil, who “liked everything” he heard from him.[135] After returning to Morocco, Ibn Haddu continued to improve “his knowledge of English affairs,” as Thomas Phelps, a captive in Morocco, confirmed.[136] So excited did Ismaʿil become at his ambassador’s account that he sent a letter to King Charles II inviting him to embrace Islam as the religion that Jesus himself had prophesied and asking him to send as ambassador to Morocco “the Duke of Albemarle who is a person of understanding, and respected as our servants have informed us.”[137] Like other ambassadors, Ibn Haddu had learned who in the court favored relations with his country and who did not—and he conveyed that information to his ruler. Less than a year later, in August 1683, Ibn Haddu wrote to the king expressing his gratitude for having been treated better than the ambassadors of the *rūm* and the *hind*, showing that Ibn Haddu had heard about (met?) the ambassadors from those countries in London (the Russian who had arrived at the end of November 1681 and the East India ambassadors who arrived in May 1682).[138] Ibn Haddu was grateful that the king had invited him to his palace, confided in him, and most important, shared food with him—which to an Arab is an indication of trust.[139] He assured King Charles that he had given Ismaʿil a detailed description of the cities and countryside of England, its men and women, and its civil reception. “I know you and your country,” he concluded one letter to Charles II.[140]

Perhaps the most interesting episode of religious interaction that took place during Ibn Haddu’s visit was the meeting with two Unitarians who were in possession of the treatise written by Ben-Abdala. Although they did not name the author of that treatise and were inaccurate in dating it, they presented Ibn Haddu with a “faithful transcript of that *Letter*, that’s with difficulty to be seen, only in the cabinets of those Princes to whom it was directed in Latin.” Ben-Abdala’s treatise had not survived in the archives of North Africa and was completely unknown, as no references to it appear in Arabic writings. Interestingly, the only way in which a Muslim could find out about the engagements and disputations of previous coreligionists with Christians was by going inside the palaces and courts of those same Christians. The Unitarians found in the treatise a clear presentation of Islamic doctrine, “a piece of rarity and learning,” but it contained errors, which they wanted to correct. They presented to Ibn Haddu three treatises (one has survived in manuscript in Latin; the others were printed in English) that emphasized the "articles we the Unitarian Christians (of all others) do solely concur with you Mahometans, (to which we draw nigher in those important points than all other Protestant or Papal Christians)." The authors also pointed out what they viewed as "contradictions [that] were foisted into the scatter'd papers after Mahomet's death," hoping to correct those errors in "Alkoran" and to show when and by whom they had been inserted into the text, since it was impossible that the Prophet, a "Man of that judgment" should have been responsible for them. The authors also presented to the ambassador a brief history of their Unitarian beliefs and explained what must have been confusing to the ambassador: why they had presented themselves before him "incognito."[141] They apologized for not according him a public welcome, but explained that they were persecuted and dared not act freely. What Ibn Haddu thought of his meeting with these clandestine visitors is not recorded, but he could not but have been bewildered: they were Christians who agreed with one of the strongest Islamic criticisms of Christianity—the criticism of the doctrine of the Trinity—at the same time that they alerted him to what they took to be errors in the Qur'an.[142]

In 1690 an Algerian ambassador visited France and met with the deposed English king, James II. In his address to the king, he revealed the extent of his familiarity with the affairs of England after the Glorious Revolution and reviled the usurper king to the exiled king. Members of the *diwan*, he told him, were quite well informed

> avec un tres sensible déplaisir la lâcheté avec laquelle un grand nombre de ses [James II] Sujets se sont laissé corrompre aux poursuites frauduleuses de ses Ennemis, & oubliant que les Rouis sont l'ombre de la Divinité, ils sont tombez dans une felonie quie marque leur front d'un opprobre eternel au regard de Vostre Majesté. Comme il n'est que trop évident que les guerres que le tres-puissant & le tres-invincible Empereur de France & Vostre Majesté ont entreprises, sont les effets de la vengeance que Dieu veut prendre de cette multitude seditieuse, & de ces Usurpateurs dont les Sectes impies ont corrompu la saine [sic] Doctrine des Liures de Dieu, nous esperons que Vostre Majesté sera bien-tost en estat de faire triompher la justice de sa cause, en remontant sur le Trône de ses Ancestres pour y briller dereches comme le Soleil dans le centre de la Magnificence.[143]

By using terms like "Sectes impies" and "seditieuse," the ambassador showed how aware he was of the way the revolution in England was seen from the French Catholic side. From the North African perspective, the Glorious Revolution was not glorious but an uprising of a people who had deviated from the holy teachings of the holy books that stated how the king, both Muslim and Christian, was the shadow of God on earth. The ambassador assured the king that the duration of his absence from the throne would be “petite” and that his scepter would be reinstated with all its splendor. He also commended him on his alliance with the French king and urged him to view Algiers as his ally, for all the members of the *diwan* were eagerly awaiting his “retablissement” and willing to serve and assist him. European conflicts and dramatic changes were not peripheral to Algerian affairs and negotiations.

AMBASSADORS AND EUROPEAN WOMEN

In the period under study, European travelers and non-travelers to the East “fantasized” (Alain Grosrichard’s term) about Muslim women and about the sexual possibilities they provided.[144] No early modern European travelogue about the Muslim world was complete without reference to Muslim women and to real or spurious descriptions of the harem. As Edward Said put it, Europeans viewed the Levant as a space where they could act out, in reality or in imagination, “a different type of sexuality.”[145] Sex and women were on the minds of many European observers who were relentless in seeking out or inventing titillating “discoveries” about the activities and proclivities of the “Mahumetans.” By leaving home and country and traveling among the “infidels,” they felt they could unburden themselves of norms—as did the Franks in Smyrna, who ran about masked, sometimes naked, and drank, danced, and took liberties that were forbidden in France.[146]

While European visitors indulged themselves in fantasy about Muslim women (as well as, possibly, in sexual affairs),[147] Muslim ambassadors viewed the meeting with women among their European hosts as a difficult challenge. Medieval Arabic writings about Christian women, particularly the women of Byzantium, the *rūm*, were filled with stereotypes of lustful and unfaithful women who tempted Muslims into *fitna*,[148] but early modern Magharibi writers divested themselves of such stereotypes after the Euro-Christian women engaged them in galas, chatted with them on the streets, and invited them to their houses—without necessarily demonstrating either license or promiscuity. The Magharibi did not initially know what to make of such situations, but they wrote about the meetings in an accurate and careful manner, revealing an attitude toward European women that was very different from the European attitude toward Muslim women. Contrary to what numerous Orientalists have claimed, and as Edward Said confirmed, “Islamic travelers to the West” did *not* “usually speak of lascivious [Christian] women."[149] Rather, Western Muslims were respectful and poised but also bewildered in their interactions with the women—as current European newspaper accounts about them firmly confirmed. Both ambassadors in Europe and merchants and rulers in North Africa were fascinated by European women; indeed, it is known that they visited resident European factors and consuls just to admire the women. The "thing that most pleases him ["Tripoly Envoy"]," wrote Consul Cole in Algiers in 1701, is "our women," although it is very unlikely that that pleasing extended beyond gazing and possibly socializing.[150] Muslim visitors remained poised in their presence and in reporting about them.

One reason for this poise lies in the Qur'anic code of *haraam*—prohibition by divine law.[151] The concept extended in the Qur'an to the *haraam* of a sanctuary, a holy locus, the *bayt al-haraam*/the sacred house/Kaʿba, and in later Islamic tradition, the holy sanctuary of Jerusalem, al-Haram al-Sharīf/the noble sanctuary. From its association with the sacred and separate space/*locus sacri*, the term was extended to those who should also be separate and *haraam*—a man's wife/wives and kinswomen—thus the phrase *harīm darina*/ the sanctity of our house, as also, rather curiously in Latin, where the word "*domus* always signifies 'house' in the sense of 'family.'"[152] As the Kaʿba is a sacred place, as is the *Haram al-Sharīf* for holiness and consecration, so are a man's womenfolk sanctified to him. Thus the concept of *haraam* begins as a description of a sacred space that then becomes applied to woman/women who should be treated with the appropriate sacredness and forbiddenness as a holy place. Significantly, from *haraam* also derives the word *ihtiram*—respect. The prohibited and the sacred space/woman is also the respected. Perhaps that is why the *haramlik,* the Turkish origin of the European term "harem," does not have any sexual connotations, simply meaning the location where women live.

The concept of *haraam* dominated the behavior of the Muslim visitors from the very start. While in Olonne in 1612, Ahmad ibn Qasim met a beautiful and attractive "girl," as he called the young unmarried woman of twenty-four years.[153] Many men had asked her hand in marriage, but she had turned them down. She came up to him and coquettishly engaged him in conversation: describe to me, she said, the criteria of beauty in your country. So he did. She then said to him that the Moorish measure of beauty was the best, because it corresponded to her own beauty. Ahmad and his companions stayed at the nobleman's house for weeks. Every day, he wrote, the host's daughter, the "girl," dressed up beautifully and sat with him. Looking for a way to spend more time with him, she offered to teach him *ifranji*/ French. Ahmad consented and became her diligent pupil. As a result, she started hosting his companions in order to show the dignity in which she held him. And so he fell in love with her: and “love grew between us so much that I was distraught by it,” distraught because the woman clearly tried to tempt him—a temptation that he compared to Satan’s of the human spirit.

Ahmad did not describe how the girl tried to seduce him. Such description was not congruent with the *hurma* he had to maintain in regard to his host’s honor. But she became so persistent that the only way he could resist her was by escaping into the garden for long walks. His friends, meanwhile, urged him on, but Ibn Qasim refused, explaining angrily that the woman was *haraam* to him. For he was, he stated, like a fighter in a jihad at the frontier with the enemy, and the enemy often used such women to distract the fighter, not necessarily from a military as much as a spiritual jihad toward religious perfection. “Satan,” he warned, “used these unveiled *harīm* to incite us to sin.”[154] He invoked his companions to overcome their desire for the *muharramat*/proscribed women, telling them that if they indulged for a little bit, they would inevitably fall into *haraam*.[155] As a later writer confirmed, “True piety is to steer the eye away from the visually forbidden (*al-maharim*) … such as women who are strangers [*ajnabiyyat*].”[156]

Ahmad ibn Qasim’s account describes two sets of codes at work: the Islamic code embodied in the word *haraam*, which would govern male-female relations. This injunction came into effect at the very moment that the Arabic guests entered the European homes where they met their host’s kinswomen, for inside a host’s house, his *harīm*, the host’s women, immediately became *haraam* to the guest, not only physically but also imaginatively. That is why the writers did not even mention the names of the women they met: when, in the nineteenth century, the Moroccan traveler Driss ibn Driss al-ʿAmraoui went to Paris, he felt embarrassed to write about French women because the very act of writing about their “world is a sin.”[157] It was *haraam* for the guest to view the Christian women of his host in a manner different from the manner in which he would view (if ever) the *harīm* of a coreligionist. By being invited to meet the women of the house hold, be they Muslim or Christian or Jewish, the visitor was entrapped in the *hurma* of the house and of the women of the house. For the travelers, their relationship to and engagement with European women was the index of their moral rectitude and obedience to Islam. Unable to fully understand the changing role of women in European society, they felt that the only certainty they could express was about their commitment to their own religious codes and values. Women became the test not of European society and its strange values but of Muslim conduct and commitment.

Meanwhile, there was the European code of behavior in a country where women were socially interactive and where, as the companions claimed, there was no jealousy. Ibn Qasim's companions, most if not all of them Moriscos who had grown up among "Europeans," translated the absence of *haraam* in the gender relations among the French hosts into an absence of jealousy. Significantly, the companions did not accuse the French women of moral or sexual lasciviousness, but blamed the men who did not feel jealousy and therefore let their women be exposed to strangers. Such a view of male carelessness was not exclusive to Arabic/Muslim writers: half a century before Ibn Qasim, a Greek had noted the forwardness of English/European women, treating it as proof of the absence of jealousy on the part of European men. Nicander Nucius, who resided in England in 1545–1546, described how women were easy with their kisses, which convinced him of the "absence of jealousy" among their male kin.[158] Even Shakespeare may have noted the forwardness of European women: in *Othello*, the Moor is restrained and polite, just like Ibn Qasim would be, while the Christian Venetian seduces him with passionate kisses, becoming herself "half the wooer" (1.3.176).[159]

But such seduction was exclusive to fictional accounts or to non-Magharibi visitors. In 1626 the Persian ambassador to London, Naqd ʿAli, had an affair with a "lewde strumpet." He later tried to take her with him to Persia, but London merchants "absolutely" opposed such a plan, after which they determined to prosecute the "Persians wench."[160] At the end of the century (between 1688 and 1699), a Turkish soldier, captured in Hungary, wrote a detailed account of his Muslim captivity among Christians. Osmân Agha of Temechvar wrote how he resisted seduction by two Croatian teenagers and, a couple of years later, by Margot, a maidservant, as beautiful as a flower, in her fifteenth year (he was twenty). This time, he went along with kissing and caressing, but refrained from going any further.[161] In his case, however, it was not his religious commitment so much as his prudence that stopped him, as he feared the consequences of sexual intimacy. A few years later, in 1706, the Moroccan ambassador, José Cardenas, a Jewish convert to Islam, seemed to have overstayed his visit in London. The Moroccan regional governor wrote to tell him that he had heard that Cardenas had got "marryed in England and that he stays to have his children brought up and then to come with a train of Christians"[162]—a strange rumor that a Jew who had converted to Islam would raise his children as Christians. A decade later, in 1715–1716, Muhammad Rida Bey, ambassador from Persia, had an affair with a French woman, Mme d'Epinay, who became pregnant, hid inside one of the ambassador's boxes, and traveled with him all the way back to Iran, where she converted to Islam.[163] Magharibi men, however, resisted such temptations, and no Christian woman is known to have succeeded in seducing any of them—much as they may have tried.

During his visit to France in 1682, the Moroccan ambassador Hajj Muhammad Temīm traveled through small towns and cities on his way to Paris. At every stop, he selected a local woman and dubbed her "Queen of Morocco." Many of the women flirted with the ambassador: one said that Moroccan men were inconstant because they had many wives, to which the ambassador replied: "If Moroccan women were as beautiful as you, I would be faithful." Temīm spent much time mixing and mingling, communicating in Spanish and Italian. Throughout, he was neither hostile to the French as infidel Christians nor uninterested in their customs, mores, and women. Of course, he distinguished between the women he met at the court and those on the streets, revealing a socially generated sexism not unlike that of his hosts. When he met a wounded soldier, Temīm praised the military life, saying that soldiers were more useful than other men but that other men were less useful than women because women serve "du moins au ménage"/at least for cleaning.[164] Meanwhile, and to women of the court, he was admiring and ready with a compliment; as a French observer noted after a gala reception at which the ambassador had clearly enjoyed himself with the women: "[Temīm] dit mille choses galantes à toutes les Dames"/Temīm said a thousand gallant things to all the women.[165]

In that same year Muhammad ibn Haddu was noted for the dignity he and his entourage showed to the women around them in London. On the evening of January 24, 1682, John Evelyn reported:

> I was at the Entertainement of the Morocco <Ambassador> at the Dut: of Portsmouths glorious Appartment at W.hall, where was a greate banquet of Sweetmeates, & Musique &c but at which both the Ambassador & Retinue behaved themselves with extraordinary Moderation & modestie, though placed about a long Table a Lady betweene two Moores: viz: a Moore, then a Woman, then a Moore &c and most of these were the Kings natural Children…. They dranke a little Milk & Water, but not a drop of Wine … [and] did not looke about nor stare on the Ladys, or expresse the least surprize, but with a Courtly negligence in pace, Countenance, & whole behaviour, answering onely to such questions as were asked, with a greate deal of Wit & Gallantrie.[166]

Later, when some courtiers offered to find the ambassador a prostitute for the night, he rebuked them, as the diarist Roger Morrice reported: "When some of our English gentlemen had too neare a conversation with some ladyes and urged him to receive a whore into his bed, hee said to our great rebuke and shame, ‘My religion forbids whores, does not yours?’”[167] Although no Arabic account of this episode has survived, the word *haraam* must have been used by the ambassador. Throughout his stay, Ibn Haddu kept strict control not only over his own actions but also over those of his delegation: when one of his associates fell in love with an English girl, he was not permitted to indulge in illicit flirtation and had to marry her.[168] Before leaving England, Ibn Haddu posed before Mrs. S. P. Rosse for a painting. The ambassador was very reserved in her presence, uneasy but flattered, staring in a not unexpectedly haughty manner.[169] His demeanor toward women was noted by an anonymous poet who wrote, after the departure of Ibn Haddu, that the latter would no longer be able to “Court any more the British shore,/To try the ladies’ kindness.”[170]

One group of European women who often fascinated the Muslim visitors was the nuns. As there are no monastic orders in Islam, not only had the travelers not seen convents before but they had not seen women confined in such celibacy either. Hajj Temīm visited the convent of Val-de-Grâce, where he was struck by the piety and holiness of the nuns. Another Moroccan ambassador, al-Ghassani, during his visit to Spain a few years later, mentioned the different orders of nuns and accurately described novices and the requirements they had to fulfill—how some women joined them because they did not have enough dowries or because they were sent there by parents who wanted to protect their chastity. Al-Ghassani listened carefully to the analysis of the social background of the nuns; he also learned about differences among the orders—*turuq*, as he called them—and respectfully noted the work of charity that one order, the Sisters of Charity, carried out. He reported that no man was ever permitted inside a convent; and when a doctor went to the convent, he was surrounded by four old nuns, who stayed with him until he left. Though al-Ghassani was fascinated by these women, he still found their vocation objectionable—not only because it went against his religion but because any kind of celibacy in his view could only lead to temptation. Al-Ghassani reported stories about priests who had seduced women while listening to their confessions, and about a scandalous affair in a monastery where a nun had become pregnant. With such stories—stories that are confirmed by statistics from that decade—al-Ghassani could have lashed out against Christianity in the way that European Protestants lashed out against papistical “nunneries.” But he did not: he blamed not the women but the institutions and the false teachings that the women were made to follow. Al-Ghassani was very bitter about the monastic institutions because the ideologies of those institutions with their inquisitional orders had been responsible for driving his ancestors out of Spain and destroying the Muslim heritage there. Unlike Temīm, who was in France, a country that was not remembered for its violence to Muslims, al-Ghassani could not come to dissociate the Spanish nuns from their grim theological and ideological legacy of the *reconquista*. “After we had conversed with them,” he concluded, “and were preparing to leave, one of them said, essentially, ‘God has given you and us the path of salvation. But He has not shown us where He intends to lead us.’ ‘To hell and damnation,’ I said to her.”[171] For al-Ghassani, the nun and her order embodied the Christian legacy of expulsion and exclusion.

In 1699, and during his visit to France, the Moroccan *rayyes*/sea captain ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAisha became enamored of a French lady, his *qurrat al-ʿayn*/ apple of his eye, but remained respectful and “tres spirituel” in his courtship.[172] Throughout his visit, the dashing corsair *rayyes* was a model of charm and decorum with women. Significantly, numerous episodes about him were reported in the Parisian press—the same press that relentlessly sought the scandalous and the entertaining, but could only report, in his case at least, on his nobility and discretion:

> Une dame luy ayant demandé, chez Madame la comtesse de Maurepas, ce qu’il pensoit de voir les femmes et les filles en France, pesle-mesle avec les hommes, le visage découvert, il répondit que, les femmes estant vertuese et les hommes parfaits, ils faisoient un mélange de musc et d’ambre, qui ne pouvoit rendre qu’une bonne odeur.[173]

It was an interesting question, testing his reaction to the “pesle-mesle” social mixing and to women’s open and “découvert” demeanor. Europeans were aware of the difference in gender relations and were eager to know how the Muslims viewed their social norms and customs. Ibn ʿAisha, too, was aware of difference—which is why he resisted entanglement, so much so that a French princess thought him uninterested in “du beau sexe.” After all, the Arab visitor did not seem to confirm the lustful uncontrollability of “Moors” and “Turks” that plays and novels depicted. To the princess’s surprise, the Moroccan Muslim was not only dignified in the presence of European women but also deeply faithful to his family. My love, he told the princess, “is adamantly fixed on my wife (as strong as a rock), and on my three boys and three girls. In all my life, I have never caused her any pain.” The princess pressed him about how he could resist the French women around him. He replied: “When I see young women, I treat them as my daughters; when I see older women, I treat them as my sisters; and when I see very beautiful women, I pray to God."[174] He was so composed that one woman told him she had never met a man as polite and gallant as he was. "But madam," he replied, "after a man enters a perfumery [France], he cannot leave without some fragrance adhering to him."[175] Later, in his correspondence with Madam Jourdan, at whose house he had stayed, Ibn ʿAisha repeatedly mentioned the *mahabba*/ love he felt for her. He had enjoyed meeting her, sitting on the sofa with her daughters in his lap, and eating with her family at the table: "I know full well, Madam, that you do not forget me, and all that I have in my heart, you have put there. May God bring us together in this world. Learn too that my daughters have made you the center of their conversations wherever they are."[176] After his return to Morocco, Ibn ʿAisha's womenfolk sent presents to Mrs. Jourdan and her daughters, as tokens of their *mahabba*.

Notwithstanding the forwardness of many European women, the Magharibi writers did not vilify them, as European writers vilified Morisco and Muslim women whom they described, according to M. E. Yapp, as "debauched and vicious."[177] Instead, Ibn ʿAisha and other travelers described the women empirically—noting whether they worked in food stores, vended on the streets, or belonged to the luxuriant nobility. Only when landladies turned out to be nasty did ambassadors describe the difficulty of European women—and ask their hosts to intervene. As the Moroccan ambassador was preparing to leave London after his 1707 visit, the landlady, one Mrs. Windsor, accosted him and demanded payment for the fifteen months he and his retinue had spent in her house. Cardenas asked Jezreel Jones, the factor in Morocco who served as agent in London, to "talk sharply to her."[178] Haggling, especially with a woman of low status, was beneath his ambassadorial dignity. But when the ambassador was not reimbursed for his, and his delegation's, expenses, he was not hesitant in accosting wives: Jezreel Jones went into hiding, trying to avoid the "Moores" who clamored for their money. The Moroccans tried to locate his hiding place by pestering his wife: "They are resolved," he wrote on June 5, 1710, "to give my poore wife as much trouble as they can now I am out of the way."[179] His wife, Phoebe, became so desperate as a result of the visitors' persistence that on that same day she decided to petition Lord Sunderland, and even the queen, for assistance in resolving the matter.[180]

Although Magharibi men were curious about European women, they never exhibited the voyeurism of their European counterparts, who were ever eager to learn about undergarments and harems and eunuchs. And although the Magharibi felt attraction and even love toward the women, they are not known to have ever indulged themselves intimately with any European women. Such chastity may explain why on at least one occasion the Moroccan embassy to Holland took female slaves with them (the illustration on the cover of this book). But neither their own accounts nor, significantly, accounts about them in the local European press, autobiographical writings, or gossip columns ever suggested that the ambassadors were anything but civil, charming, and unreproachable. And when they felt themselves attracted to the beautiful and "bare" women, they withdrew, as Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahab al-Miknasi, the Moroccan ambassador in Italy, described at the end of the eighteenth century (see translation #19). Magharibi visitors enjoyed the company of European women. But such enjoyment never went further.

NON-MUSLIM AMBASSADORS

No discussion of Magharibi ambassadors is complete without reference to the non-Muslims who were sent to the courts of Europe. Magharibi tolerance is strikingly evident in this unique feature of early modern Islamic society, one without parallel among their European counterparts. Ambassadors from Europe were often clergymen or lawyers, military officials or noblemen; from the Mahgrib, they were scribes, sea commanders, and merchants. But the religious openness of Western Islam resulted in a willingness on the part of rulers to employ non-Muslims, both Christians and Jews, in a manner that never occurred in Western Europe. As early as the mid-1590s, such employment was ongoing. The Spanish Catholic, Alonso Nuñez de Herrera, was sent by Mulay al-Mansur to France and other parts of Europe to buy "him sundrey thinges."[181] When the Algerian ruler sent a messenger to report to Mulay al-Mansur about the revolt in the Couko region, he designated the task to a *dhimmi*, whom al-Mansur welcomed with full honors.[182] In 1605, as Mulay al-Sheikh was asking the duke of Medina Sidonia for help against his brothers in the Moroccan civil war, he sent Jewish emissaries to negotiate for him in Spain. In November 1606 it was believed that the English adventurer Sir Anthony Sherley, who had visited Marrakesh, was subsequently "employed" by the Moroccan king as his ambassador to Europe.[183] In 1608 Mulay al-Sheikh again, after defeating his brother (temporarily), sent Gianettino Mortara as his ambassador to Spain. A year later, after Mulay Zaydan had defeated his brother, he, being deeply suspicious of Spaniards, designated a Moroccan Jew, Samuel Pallache, who he was certain would be hostile to Spain, as the "trucheman"/translator to his ambassador to negotiate a treaty with the States General.[184] Although he faced a number of legal difficulties, Pallache was established in Amsterdam as Zaydan's agent by the end of that year, and by July 1610 he had negotiated an alliance between Morocco and the States

General (approved December 24, 1610).[185]

At a time when European governments had never employed ambassadors of different religions (even of a different denomination), the Magharibi courts recruited and trusted Jews and Christians in international negotiations, demonstrating thereby how the Islamic principality had a secure place and an important diplomatic role for the non-Muslim subject. Consistently, the world of North African diplomacy included religious and ethnic minorities—who were often as exposed to the dangers of their Christian hosts as were their Muslim counterparts. It made no difference to the European governments whether the Magharibi envoy was a Muslim, a Jew, or a Christian: all could be humiliated and punished. In November 1619 Mulay Zaydan protested that his "Christian servant"/*khadīmuna al-nusrani*, Jaques Fabre, had been mistreated, "contrary to the truce and agreements that are between us"[186]; a few years later, in July 1624, Youssef Biscaino, Zaydan's representative in Holland, protested that the Moroccan son of *khadīm al-sultan*, Joseph Pallache, had been so severely beaten that he had lost his hearing.[187] Just under a century later, in 1710, Mulay Ismaʿil sent an Armenian as his ambassador to England. Within a few months of his arrival, the ambassador was put under house arrest—evidence of the weakened state of Morocco at the beginning of the eighteenth century (see translation #16a).

The Bentura episode, which can be studied in great detail because of the survival of numerous letters and accounts about the ambassador in the British National Archives in Kew,[188] raises an important question about transnationalism in the early modern period. Could a person with a fundamentally well-defined ethno-religious identity belong to one nation/community and then move to another without repudiating that identity? In Morocco, Bentura was identified by his religious and ethno-linguistic differences: he was *nusrani* and *armani,* as Ismaʿil described him, Christian and Armenian. He was also identified by his clothes—which, in the early modern period, were the most obvious markers of religious differentiation. He was a man who did not share the same religion with his master, but in London he defended the interests of his master's Muslim dominions; he had not been born in Morocco but still acted on behalf of Morocco. He was, as Ismaʿil emphasized, *khadīmuna*/ servant, subject, a designation that was interestingly different from what Ismaʿil used for other ambassadors who were Muslim: ʿ*abd*/slave. Bentura had crossed boundaries between two "nations"—Armenia and Morocco; and between two *ummas*/communities: Christian and Muslim. His feet were in Christianity, although his responsibility was to Dar al-Islam; his diet was in Armenia and the Levant—on one occasion he mentions a very Middle Eastern trait then (and now) of eating melon seeds to pass the time during his house captivity; but his duties were to negotiate for Morocco.

Bentura died in London in September 1716, leaving a will that lists among his possessions European clothes, “One paire of Cloath Breeches Embroidered with Gold,” along with “Outlandish Bookes,” “One Silver Snuff Box” alongside “Damask Table Clothes” and “One Parrott.”[189] Despite the cultural mix, to his Christian-Anglican hosts, he remained a Moroccan, neither Christian nor Armenian, and therefore when Moroccan pirates seized a British ship, Bentura the Moroccan paid by going under house arrest. That he was a Christian wearing breeches meant nothing to the London administration: for them, his transnationalism from Armenia to Morocco was as definite and incontrovertible as Daniel Defoe suggested was the transnationalism of his fictional king of pirates, Avery, into an Armenian merchant in Basra.[190] Although under the duress of house arrest Bentura tried to repudiate his transnationalism, the British hosts/captors did not change their minds. Perhaps they realized that in the dominions of Islam, there was not that severe a binarism between cultures, national identities, and civilizations. It is tempting to think they were embarrassed that there was toleration in Islam to permit a Christian to serve a Muslim ruler—in a manner that was inconceivable on their own Anglican—or indeed any other European—soil.

In 1717 Mulay Isma ʿil sent a Jewish emissary, Toledano, to Spain, but was shocked to discover that the ambassador and his Jewish retinue were not permitted to disembark and conduct business. He was unaware that while Jews were free to live and work in North Africa, they were not even permitted to dock in the Christian land of the Spanish *taghiya*/tyrant. In his letter, Mulay Isma ʿil chides the king for excluding Jews and insists that the Jews be permitted to perform the errands for which he had sent them (see translation #16b). Upon his return, Toledano, like other Muslim, Christian, and Jewish ambassadors, conveyed a wide variety of information about Europe and Europeans to his master’s court, family community, city, and religious organization. His as well as other ambassadorial accounts and letters, oral reports and anecdotal yarns, included little description of landscape but much about customs, innovations, and festivities. The ambassadors always observed, and always wanted to see new things, perhaps most poignantly, to see how the Europeans saw and depicted them. When Mahmūd Maqdīsh traveled to the “lands of the [Christian] East,” Venice, in the late eighteenth century, he went with fellow merchants to see how they, the Christians, “had painted the ships that had attacked them from Sfax [September 1747], showing destruction, fire and smoke. They kept those paintings in their churches.”[191] He and his friends wanted to see their history through Christian eyes, and also to see how the ships and combatants had looked and perhaps to compare their observations with the memories that the oral tradition in North Africa would have preserved. Although neither he nor other Magharibi formulated a “worldview” into which they fit the Europeans, in the manner that European scholars and antiquarians did about the world of Islam, their writings contained an array of allusions to, and insights about, the early modern *nasara*. Their descriptions show how relations with Euro-Christians were not always oppositional—that while there were battles and kidnappings, captivity and humiliation, there was also diplomacy, amicability, cooperation, and negotiation—that in the same way that there were different perspectives in European literature about early modern Islam and Muslims, so were there different views and emotions in Arabic writings about early modern Europeans.

CONCLUSION

Encountering the *Dunya* of the Christians

Dīnuhum ka-dunyana wa dunyahum ka-dīnina/Their religion is [as bad] as our world, and their world is [as perfect] as our religion.
Words of a Moroccan visitor to France, 1699[1]

A manuscript from 1700 describes a convivial community of French Capuchins and local Christians and Muslims in Alexandria. The manuscript was intended for teaching the French priests conversational Arabic: there are vocabulary lists at the beginning of each chapter, followed by dialogues among numerous men, transliterated on the opposite page in Latin script with a French interlinear translation. The text provides descriptions of some aspects of life in the Egyptian city by local men whose names range from the very Christian ʿAbd al-Masīh, Girgis, Butrus, Simʿan to the Muslim names of ʿAli and Ahmad. The speakers discuss such topics as the baking of bread, shopping for *jubn ifranji*/French cheese (Parmesan was a very popular import), and the aftereffects of wine. A *saqqa*/wine-server, by the name of Nasir, complains that "before the war of the Muslims with the Venetians, we used to import wine from Crete; now it comes only from Cyprus and Syracuse."[2] Still, despite the poor quality of that wine, the *saqqa* praises it for dilating the mind; if the water of the Nile were wine, he says, "I would turn myself into a fish and swim there forever"—words that bring a firm reprimand from the *qissīs*/priest.

Perhaps the most interesting dialogue in the manuscript occurs between Murad and ʿAli. Murad declares that mankind's ancient wisdom started among the Chaldeans, then moved to the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Arabs, and finally to the Latins, "I mean the *ifranj* [French] among whom there are now more learned scholars than in the past." So ʿAli retorts:

> ʿAli: *Hasibtu al-ʿArab muʿallimīn al-dunya*/I thought the Arabs were the teachers of the world.
> Murad: *Kīf muʿallimīn al-dunya. Qul wa tusduq fi kalamika in ma*

> *baqa baynahum la ʿilm wa la ʿaalim*/Why do you think they are teachers of the world: say and believe what you say, neither knowledge nor teachers are left among them.[3]

ʿAli becomes emotional and draws Murad's attention to the knowledge of jurisprudence among the Arabs, and to the number of sheikhs who are masters in preparing talismans, in sand prognostication, and in soothsaying. "Ah, ah, ah," replies Murad, "is this how you prove the wisdom of the Arabs?! Believe me, this is proof of their ignorance."[4]

Who Murad is is not clear in the text. Is he a representative of the French Capuchins spreading despair in the Levant, or is he an Arab who had come to recognize the gap in civilization between his community and the *ifranj*/French/ Europeans? The language he uses is difficult to categorize. While there are no specifically Islamic terms or concepts, neither are there peculiarly Christian words. Another manuscript of the same language-teaching book includes the same words about Arab ignorance. This latter manuscript, however, belonged to the French *turjuman*/translator, by the name of Kadron, in the city of Tripoli in Syria. He tells us that ʿAli and Murad are two ʿ*aaliman*/scholars.[5] In this manuscript, ʿAli explains, after Murad's dismissal of ʿ*ilm*/knowledge among the Arabs, why he does not think that the Arabs have lost the lead in knowledge. Nothing in modernity can supersede antiquity, he tells Murad; if the modern Latins are building on the legacy of the Arabs, how can they be better than their predecessors, and how can the predecessors be inferior to the French moderns? His words do not convince Murad, but the two leave as friends, agreeing to meet on the following Friday, after the noon prayer, to continue their discussion.

Murad's words stand as a blunt admission of the decline of the Arabs in 1700. As far as Murad is concerned, civilization has moved away from the Arabs to settle among the French, who have become keepers of the flame. ʿAli juxtaposes the past with the present but sees no decline among the Arabs—although it is not clear whether he sees progress either. He has of course looked at only the intellectual side of progress, not at moral or physical progress—or decline.[6] But decline is a concept that should be either relegated to the dust-heap of concepts, as Henry Kamen recommended,[7] or approached with great caution, as Cemal Kafadar has shown.[8] In either case, it is crucial that its definition not be relativistic or parochial. In *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs, 1511–1574*, George William Frederick Stripling explained "the decline of the Arabs" as "a lack of prosperity and culture."[9] For Stripling, the measure of progress or decline was exclusively the material and technological. Such a measure may well be accurate, since there really is no other "objective system for evaluating cultural superiority or inferiority."[10] But the emphasis on a material measure already presupposes the ascendancy of the material over other, not tangible, values. Such a presupposition is predicated on a premise that is not necessarily universal: not all societies view material and technological advancement as a sign of progress—and the absence of such advancement as a sign of decline. In 1721, for instance, the Ottoman ambassador to France described the country as a *janna*/paradise after seeing the complicated water technology of Versailles.[11] But as a Muslim he could not but condemn it as a man-made paradise for the *al-kafir*/infidel—and therefore no paradise that he would desire. For the Ottoman visitor, admitting the superiority of the French, and by implication, the decline of the Ottomans, would have necessitated conceding that the ingenuity of man, and not God's final revelation (of Islam), was the measure, that the *sijn*/prison that God has made for the *mu'min*/believer/Muslim in this world could be changed into the paradise that the European has made for himself out of this world.

A few early modern Ottoman writers, cognizant of the disparity between their society and Europe's, examined the weaknesses within the administration and military organization of their empire, analyzing the causes and proposing possible solutions.[12] Katip Çelebi argued against stubborn religious intransigence, demonstrating a Montaigne-like reasonableness from within his Islamic parameters.[13] Despite the might of the Ottoman Empire, he was both modest and realistic about its capability. A call for change, particularly in the technology of warfare, and for an overhaul of the administrative and fiscal infrastructure showed how Çelebi and other writers had observed European models and had found their own wanting.[14] There was also discussion of decline in Spain, with historians and diplomats asking, "Why did God seem to have abandoned His own?"[15] During the seventeenth century, Spaniards looked back at an idealized Middle Ages and an idealized reign of the Catholic kings as a glorious past and wondered why they had declined.

No similar critics appeared in the Arabic-speaking world of the Mediterranean, nor did writers compare an idealized past with a declining present or doubt that God remained on their Arabic-Muslim side. Sometimes in the Islamic West, courageous jurists and scribes, judges and imams declaimed against social injustice, corruption, and cruelty—against rulers who had fallen below the golden model of the Righteous Caliphs and who had failed to abide by the teachings of the Qur'an.[16] But the rulers defeated those reformers, often on the battlefield, and as long as they received from European statesmen clocks and crystal plates and chandeliers, mirrors and coaches, English cloth and French wine, the rulers did not feel the need to compare their society with Europe's or to encourage self-reflection.

Unlike the Ottoman court, which produced critics who explained to rulers the causes of the empire's military and scientific decline, the courts in Marrakesh and Meknes and the *diwans* in Algiers and Tunis produced no such writers—despite full awareness of European advancement. Magharibi travelers and envoys described European military technology and government institutions and concurred that the *nasara*/ Christians had superseded them in the social infrastructure and military industry. They described, perhaps with some envy, the sophistication of the institutions of government, the hierarchy of officials, the separation of court powers, the opulence of palaces, the intricate mechanical innovations, the security of remuneration for the king's employees, and the printing press. But such realization did not generate self-questioning and reflection—not in the Maghrib, although in the Mashriq, Fakhr al-Dīn did import European agricultural and architectural practices (but ignored the printing press). No Magharibi traveler reflected on the advantages of print, and when the Libyan ambassador saw the printing press in Paris, he merely exclaimed how "admirable" it was, without thinking of learning how to take it back to his own community.[17] The Moroccan jurist Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn ʿUmar (d. 1659) wrote about decline in the lands of the Turks after visiting Istanbul. His was a scathing description of the "extinction" of learned men among the Ottomans, how they had turned the schools of the empire into donkey barns. He had studied under great jurists, he declared, and learned about Euclid and Plato, Galen and Ptolemy, but then all the teachers were killed and humiliated by corrupt rulers. As Plato said, continued Ibn ʿUmar, if a state does not give precedence to *qudda wa attibba*ʾ/jurists and doctors, then it will decline and soon after *adbarat wa qaruba inhilaluha*/disintegrate.[18] But Ibn ʿUmar was a solitary voice commenting on a faraway region. He did not comment on the decline in his own backyard.

So, at the threshold of modernity, how did those Arabic-speaking Muslims of the West, the quintessential Arabs, as they saw themselves (because unlike the Turks, they were descended from the Prophet), confront the challenge of European advancement? How did they, the closest and most widely exposed to Europeans among all the Islamic peoples, react to or reflect on the technological and organizational wonders in the lands of the *nasara*? In *Al-Maghrib wa Urubba*, the distinguished Moroccan historian ʿAbd al-Majīd Qaddūri studied the developments of Europe and the Maghrib from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, with the aim of explaining why Europe *tajawazat*/ superseded Morocco. But his approach was to view the problem from a modern perspective, reflecting back on the differences that existed regarding concepts of "mind" and "modernization" between the two shores of the Mediterranean. Had he examined the early modern documents in their contemporary setting, rather than with the hindsight of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, he might have arrived at a different answer to the question of decline, one steeped in the Magharibi appeal to “Arabness” and to the “Islam” of the Qurayshi/ Arab caliphs. As European advancement challenged Magharibi visitors, they did not contrast what they saw with conditions in their own societies—nor, as was the case with the Ottomans, did they analyze their own decline in order to propose administrative remedies. Rather, they invoked the pride of being the keepers of the Arabic legacy of the Qur’an, proclaiming that since the Qur’an and its divine legacy never declined, neither could the keepers of that legacy. Indeed, rather than decline, the Magharibi saw *nasr*/triumph.

NASR

The destruction of Islam in Spain in the sixteenth century and the complete expulsion of the Muslim/Morisco population by the year 1614 were signs of a deteriorating Islamic West. But even writers who experienced and witnessed the exodus from Iberia failed to see defeat in the expulsion. Nor did they fall back on the theories of the Tunisian historiographer Ibn Khaldūn to help them come to terms with the causes of the defeat. An anonymous eyewitness to the fall of al-Andalus in 1492, and author of *Period Summary of the Nasrid Kings,* offered no theoretical insight into the fall other than to denounce the immoral deeds of the last of the Nasrid kings, without even a nod to Ibn Khaldūn.[19] Political thinking in the Maghrib was grounded in the ethical strictures of jurisprudential exempla and models: morality and religious obedience, Sufi fulfillment and salafite thinking, rather than historical change, determined the views of writers and rulers alike. Well into the seventeenth century, al-Maqqari (d. 1631), in his vast compendium of the history of al-Andalus, *The Scent of Perfume*, provided examples from poetry and rhymed prose, descriptions and laments, reproductions of letters and chronicles, which told of the rise and fall of al-Andalus; but there was no historiographical interpretation of the final defeat of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula.[20]

Instead, and in the writings of one of the witnesses to the Muslim mass exile from Iberia in the early seventeenth century, the *nasr*/ victory of Islam was promoted. Writing in Tunis in the immediate aftermath of the 1609 expulsion, Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ al-Andalusi was actually one of the exiles—as the epithet to his name shows. He had fled with his father and others in 1603, arriving in Tunis in 1606. For many of the Moriscos, the trauma of expulsion was sometimes just as violent as the trauma of reception, since some found little welcome upon arriving in North Africa. The host societies of

Arabs, Berbers, and Turks were suspicious of them because they were quite different in their language, dress, cuisine, and knowledge and practice of Islam. As a result, the exiles were sometimes castigated by the locals as secret Christians, much as they had been expelled because they had been suspected of being secret Muslims. Al-Andalusi took it upon himself to defend his coreligionists and demonstrate their heroic commitment to Islam. Different as they were from the local populations, he tried to convince the Tunisian community, which had been quite welcoming, about the tenacity with which the Andalusians had clung to their religion and how the expulsion was proof positive of their Islam and of God's support for His enduring followers (see translation #9).

In that tenacity of faith al-Andalusi found the victory over the expulsion. In the year 1013/1605[*sic*] after the Prophet's *hijra*/emigration, he wrote, the cursed Philip III opened up his shores for the Muslims to depart. Al-Andalusi waxed lyrical about the expulsion of 1609 as a great mercy of God, a glorious act of *lutf*/kindness The destitution, the separation of families, the abduction of Muslim children, the expropriation of Muslim property, possession, history, and identity—all were signs of the triumph of God over the infidels. And the reason for such a *nasr*/victory and mercy was that the expulsion confirmed that the exiles had remained Muslim, even under the most intense persecution—that they were modern-day *ansar*/supporters, like those who had once supported the Prophet in Yathrib after his flight from Mecca. Although al-Andalusi admitted that the expulsion had been a great hardship, "in religion, spirit, and property," the fact that Islam had been preserved was, for him, a miracle, as much of a miracle of God as the creation of the universe. That *karama*/miracle was not unlike the many miracles that pious sheikhs were able to effect in liberating Muslim captives from the *nasara*.

The expulsion was a liberation from captivity and a *nasr*/victory that was celebrated by other writers who also believed that the victory over the Spaniards had its roots in the survival of Islam and the endurance of the Muslims. Witnessing the gradual defeat of Muslims in Spain at the end of the fifteenth century, the jurist Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Wansharīsi (d. 1508) had called on the Moriscos to leave everything behind them and emigrate to the lands of Islam—using the verb for "emigration" that designated the Prophet's emigration from Mecca to Yathrib. The subtitle of his work was the following: "About the religious laws which apply to those whose country had been conquered by the Christians, but who did not emigrate/*yuhajir*, and the punishments and penalties that should befall them."[21] A century later, a contemporary of al-Andalusi's declared that it was God who had actually forced Philip III and his counselors to drive the Moriscos out of Spain: the Spaniards had done nothing other than what God had commanded them to do. When, he was asked why the emigrants were so joyful after the expulsion (at least from his point of view), he answered: “Often they had tried to buy or steal a boat to escape to Morocco, exposing themselves to numerous dangers. Now [in 1609] they find the opportunity to travel freely and safely. Should we not seize the opportunity to return to the land of our ancestors where … we can live freely and not as slaves?”[22] When Ahmad ibn Qasim was asked by the prince of Orange why the Spaniards had expelled his coreligionists, he confirmed the victory of survival and emigration: the Muslims of Spain had not been Christianized, despite all attempts, and had actually begun to win the battle of demography—which was why Philip III decided to rid himself of them.[23]

For Ibn Qasim, as for al-Andalusi and others, the struggle in Iberia had been different from what the Spaniards had thought it to be. The Spaniards had sought to take over the land, while the Muslims sought to proclaim the faith. The preservation of the *dīn* rather than the loss of the *dunya* was what mattered to al-Wansharīsi, al-Andalusi, and others, and by that count, the Muslims had indeed defeated the Spaniards. The preference for the godly over the worldly among these writers was not unlike that among their contemporary dissenting Protestants in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century: the forced removal/departure of the early Puritan colonists to what would become Plymouth was motivated by a similar desire to preserve faith even at the cost of their lives and properties. The Puritan emigrants used the model of the exodus to inspire their departure—in the same way that al-Andalusi, Ahmad ibn Qasim, and others used the term *khurūj*/exodus. Rather ironically, however, al-Andalusi did not use the term *dukhūl*/entry, which appears in the Qur’anic description of the Israelite migration (5:20). Whereas the Hebrew Scriptures emphasized departure, the Qur’an emphasized entry. In all cases—Israelite, Puritan, and Morisco—God could not be defeated: the emigration and expulsion from Spain (along with the dangerous emigration to New England and the *dukhul* from Egypt) was an act inspired by God against the unbelievers. Since God was in charge, there could be no decline or fall.[24]

Such victory of Islam did not convince all writers reflecting on the conditions of the Muslims at the turn of the seventeenth century. In his *Nafh al-Tīb*, al-Maqqari could not but lament the fall of al-Andalusi and contrast it with the glory of the past. Moreover, he could not but denounce the failure of fellow Muslims in preventing the fall, in not sending help to their coreligionists, and in offering poor welcome to the refugees.[25] Still, and despite the complete disaster, al-Maqqari looked for the silver lining—which lay in the resettlement of the exiles among their coreligionists and their initiation of naval attacks on the Christians. The exiles who arrived in Salé, Tetouan, and Algiers began a jihad at sea against the Europeans, at the same time that the ruler of Morocco employed them in his own jihad. They fortified Salé, wrote al-Maqqari, and built in it palaces, houses, and *hammams*/baths, establishing thereby a style of architecture and design that influenced the rest of the region and that became widely imitated: "I have seen and been in some palaces which have been built in al-Andalusian style."[26] There had been defeat, al-Maqqari admitted, but the Muslims had been able to avenge themselves on those who had defeated them. They had been able to rise again and to stand up to their conquerors. Ultimately, the expulsion from Spain had been a *nasr* to Muslims in the West.

SINAʿA/TECHNOLOGY

Al-Maqqari was correct about Morisco rejuvenation of Magharibi society. The exiles founded new towns and introduced Andalusian/European innovations. Ibn Abi Dinar mentioned their planting of vineyards and olive trees, building roads, and constructing houses and mosques in the "Moorish" style of their former homeland in Tunis.[27] The Moriscos constructed dams and aqueducts, as the earlier generation of exiles had constructed windmills in Marrakesh, while the engineer Usta Mūsa was able to bring potable water into Algiers from 4.8 kilometers away.[28] The Magharibi learned from the refugees about developments in Europe and the innovations that were taking place in the lands of the Christians. They also learned about Spanish literary culture because unlike the earlier Muslim and *mudejar* exiles of the fifteenth century, these exiles were more versatile in Spanish than Arabic, in Christian liturgy than Muslim hadith. Because of their attachment to Europe, many of them continued to dress like Spaniards, use Spanish family names, and write religious literature in Spanish. It was Moriscos who imported marble and ceramic from Italy for palace construction in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco.[29] The Moriscos physically brought Europe to North Africa, heralding thereby an "exotismo extraislámico" within the culture of Western Islam.[30]

Such transfer of ideas and technologies was perhaps a small consolation in the face of the disaster of expulsion, but it was the only hope. This hope was best expressed by Ahmad ibn Ghanim, who brought with him to North Africa his knowledge of Spanish warfare and military technology and urged Muslims to learn how to fight back by employing European machinery.[31] To redeem the loss of *dīn*/religion in Spain, there was a need to improve the *dunya*/world of the Muslims in North Africa. Ibn Ghanim realized that the only way to confront defeat at the hands of the Europeans was to imitate them, and so he embarked on a book to teach his community about the most important and effective weapon in warfare: the cannon. He wrote *Kitab al-ʿIzz wa-l-Manafiʿ* in Spanish about the technology of cannons, which, he thought, would be very useful for his compatriots: thus the rest of the title, *lil-mujahidīn fī sabīl Allah bi-alat al-hurūb wal-madafiʿ*/for the holy warriors, fighting in the cause of God, with the tools of war and cannons.[32] He had seen how ignorant his compatriots were about this *sinaʿa*/technology and how they did not know how to distinguish good from bad gunpowder. Having read about cannons in Spanish books, and having himself "spent 30 years as a sailor, including 7 in captivity [1611–1618] … and 14 in the fortress of La Goulette,"[33] he recognized the importance of the information he had in the context of the Mediterranean military and naval confrontation. Sometime after he finished writing his book, Ibn Ghanim met Ahmad ibn Qasim in Tunis as the latter was on his way to Mecca. Ibn Ghanim asked him to translate the manuscript into Arabic, since Ibn Qasim had been the translator of sultans (Ahmad al-Mansur, Zaydan, ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Walīd, and Muhammad al-Sheikh). Ibn Qasim read the Spanish text and realized that the author was well intended and wanted his book to serve as an "ongoing act of *sadaqa*/charity" to Muslims.[34] So he proceeded with the translation, which he sent to many learned men, who approved it and wished God's assistance to him in his noble task.[35] The Arabic translation proved so popular that numerous manuscripts have survived.

Ibn Ghanim divided his book into fifty chapters, each dealing with specific information about cannons. On page after page he described —and provided illustrations of—the various kinds of cannons and their range and effectiveness, often corroborating his words by reference to "great philosophers and experts." Significantly, Ibn Ghanim did not rely only on authorities to support his claims; repeatedly, he stated that he had himself "tried" those cannons—the word *tajrīb*/trial/experimentation was a key term in his discourse.[36] Echoing the empirical revolution that had taken place in Europe in the early seventeenth century, with its emphasis on experiment and physical observation, Ibn Ghanim assured his readers that his personal experience validated and substantiated his instructions. But because of the technical nature of the text and its experimental thrust, and because it described a European/infidel technology, Ibn Ghanim feared that his topic might not be easily accepted by his readers. He was, after all, writing about the Euro-Christians—those same adversaries who had persecuted hundreds of thousands of his coreligionists and who were attacking the Muslim shores with their superior technology. A quarter of a century earlier, the Moroccan rebel Abu Mahilli had declared that "courage was not measured by cannons which Christians had invented, but by personal bravado. He reminded [his army] that the Muslims had conquered Spain with their spears and courage. The Bedouins were pleased to hear his praise of spears."[37] In light of such prevalent views in the Maghrib, Ibn Ghanim realized that he might not stand much of a chance in attracting the common rank and file of Muslim soldiers, and so he addressed himself instead to the rulers, describing the technology of war as one of the most noble and effective for political stability, "and this is an assured opinion, as many learned and wise men who do good confirm." All sultans, he continued, need this technology in order to ensure obedience of their subjects; actually, not only humans but also animals and birds too live by the code of war; war was part of the natural order of the creation. Be assured, continued Ibn Ghanim, "the technology of gunpowder is now the best among all the weapons of war; it is the one that people fear most."[38]

Ibn Ghanim realized that in order for his argument to succeed, he needed to assure his readers that both the rulers of the Muslims and the God of Islam were not against the technology of the Christians. He thus emphasized that there was nothing structural about the difference in knowledge between the Western Muslims and the Christian *ʿajam*/Spaniards; that was why he pointed to the Ottomans and their mastery of gunpowder and cannon technology. He added that there was nothing in Islamic doctrine or theology that prohibited Muslims from employing technologies and ideas spawned among non-Muslims. When the Turks in Algiers captured two cannons from the Christians, he asserted, they were able to use them effectively and to repulse Christian attacks.[39] On another occasion, he continued, the Turks captured a number of heavy cannons from the Maltese, which could hurl an iron ball weighing 150 *rotls*;[40] "the Grand Ottoman Sultan and Seyyed possesses cannons that can hurl balls weighing 130 rotls."[41] Muslims in the Maghrib could well adapt to the technology, as the Ottomans clearly demonstrated. All that was needed was for Muslims to learn and for the sultans to employ only those gunners who would have read "our book."[42] Decline could be remedied by education and practice: Islam was not against modernization, even if it was adopted from the infidels.

Ibn Ghanim focused on cannon technology because he saw it as an important element in Magharibi naval and military defense. Although the canker in the Magharibi body politic was by far more complex and debilitating, he focused on technology, believing that the lack of military industrialization was the single weakness, which, if overcome, could change the future of North African Islam. By avoiding an examination of governmental or monetary or educational failures in the Islamic region—failures that some Ottoman jurists were perceptive enough to address in their own communities—Ibn Ghanim narrowed down the difference with European Christendom to one of technology, which books such as his could remedy. He did not present to his readers the historical reasons for the absence of war technology in the Maghrib, despite looking back at European history and repeatedly finding dates and allusions that showed a gradual, but continual, Christian progression and advancement. He repeated that the Germans were the best cannon makers, although some components were manufactured in Florence and elsewhere; technology was produced and used in all *bilad urubba*/Europe.[43] Rather ironically, Ibn Ghanim believed that Spain was a model of technological supremacy at a time when the Spaniards themselves, and many other Europeans, were proclaiming the "decline" of Spain. Still, by proposing to bridge the gap with Europeans by means of a manual—and he was willing to write others in the future if the one on cannons was well received[44]—Ibn Ghanim admitted that Magharibi society was not on a par with the society of the *nasara*/Christians and that the only way to achieve parity with the adversaries was to imitate them. There was no escaping the need to appropriate the knowledge in those lands; otherwise, he warned, the Europeans would continue to sail close to Muslim ports and bombard them without suffering any harm from obsolete Muslim weapons or from untrained Muslim gunners.

Ibn Ghanim emphasized that his book depended on personal experience, observation, and reading. He showed his wide exposure by comparing practices in Germany with those in Spain, France, Italy, and the "Tabashkash"(?). He gave numerous examples from European history about which he had read or which he had witnessed himself, and explained in detail the instructions for cannon use: the importance of the elevation of cannon wheels, the impact of the wind on the trajectory, the dangers of gunpowder, and the techniques of aiming and firing. He was not innovating, he assured his readers, so much as bringing to them the knowledge and experience that was available in the books of *al-handasa*/engineering[45] and that the Europeans had had for centuries—since the invention of gunpowder 265 years earlier, "according to the solar calendar."[46] Equally important, Ibn Ghanim described the institutions that underpinned technological success. He was clearly aware that there was more to European progress than just the machines of war. There was an infrastructure whereby *rūm*/Christian rulers commissioned scientists and engineers, along with battle strategists, to cast the cannons; and then, "the people of that quarter of the world called *urubba*/Europe" trained the gunners, who were often themselves engineers, and paid them monthly stipends while under the supervision of a captain. The men who were selected to handle cannons were fit and healthy, neither deaf nor weak nor paralyzed nor one-eyed nor drunk—nor were they mercenaries from the lands of England, Flanders, Italy, or France. After a period of training, they received certificates with their names on them, attesting to their readiness and ability. For cannons to be operated effectively and successfully, a military institution was needed, with men who were disciplined and well remunerated, prepared and trained in the art of war. Technology needed socio-governmental support: Spain was able to conquer many presidios in the Maghrib and establish its hegemony over the New World, he concluded, precisely because of those institutions. That is why Muslim sultans should have “advisors who understand what is in our book in order to ensure implementation of instructions.”[47]

Ibn Ghanim wanted his readers to learn from the infidels. Magharibi rulers and traders had always bought European goods, ranging from guns to cloth to glassware, but at no point had any writer or jurist urged his coreligionists to learn about and from Christian industry and technology. Although rulers such as al-Mansur, Zaydan, and a few deys in Algiers brought or captured Europeans for the purpose of using their skills, there was no call to make such acquisition of technology and techniques an ongoing process. Nor was there a call for Muslims to become producers rather than just consumers of European goods. Ibn Ghanim felt no inferiority before the Spaniards, nor did he feel that adopting their technology would pose a danger to Islam or prove difficult for his community:

> We do not doubt that in these Maghribi sultanates, there are intelligent and wise men, of deep piety, who would be able to master this technology/ *sinaʿa* especially if there are those who explain its secrets to them, as well as its origins and uses. I am hopeful, and I pray to God almighty, that this book become widely read and be translated into Arabic, because I wrote it in the Spanish tongue that is used in the lands of al-Andalus, may God return it to Islam. This book will be helpful to all those who work in this technology and who recognize its importance—in all the lands of Islam where there is gunpowder. It will increase their strength and mastery and enable them to confront the infidels, those of false beliefs, and rejoice and advise their brethren in Islam.[48]

When Ahmad ibn Qasim prepared to translate the book into Arabic, he discovered that he would need to develop an Arabic vocabulary for that new technology. Any attempt to employ European technology without arabizing the technical terms would be limited if not counterproductive. As he began the translation, he realized how difficult it was to find Arabic equivalents, and soon he became despondent. But then God inspired him to continue, as he wrote, and he resumed his translation, often laboring to coin Arabic words by following this pattern for finding appropriate words: “it is called in the *ʿajami*/Spanish language *fulibro* and we shall make its name in Arabic *mistara*.” When he could not arabize a term, he simply transliterated it, saying that “no name is known for it in Arabic,” or else he came up with an explanation: “I have named it [cannon] the *qattal bi-l-nadhar*/Killer by Sight because the *ʿajam*/Spaniards say that there is a small animal that kills by sight whomever it looks at … I do not know how else to name it in Arabic. We have not seen it nor do we desire it.”[49] Ibn Qasim was very careful in the translation because, like Ibn Ghanim, he felt that he was conducting a service *nafʿan lil-Muslimīn*/for the good of all Muslims.[50] His work of translation was a fulfillment of his *dīn*/religion: jihad was not only military but intellectual, and his translation was as much of a jihad as his disputations had been with the Christians during his travels in Europe.

Ibn Qasim was well aware that the Muslims in the West had been superseded by the Europeans, but he felt certain that they would be able to catch up. The confrontation with the enemy was a matter not only of submission to God’s will but of preparation, strategy, and construction. Ibn Qasim was eager to move religion from piety to action. He thus praised al-Hajj Mūsa al-Andalusi (another Morisco immigrant), who had overseen the fortification of the port of Bizerte in Tunisia: he had so redesigned it that the ships of the infidels were no longer able to sail into it and attack the ships of the Muslims. “This brought great benefits to the Muslims,” declared Ibn Qasim,[51] for such were the actions that were needed to fight the infidels. He also praised the Tunisian ruler Yusuf Dey (reg. 1610–1637) for his innovations and improvements, emphasizing how a good ruler could inspire change in his subjects. Like Ibn Ghanim, Ibn Qasim felt the need to defend *sinaʿa*/technology against criticism by ignorant jurists. He cited *hadiths*/Prophetic teachings that testified to the legitimacy of invention and application. He wanted to assure readers that by pursuing technological advancement, they did not break God’s commands but actually fulfilled His will in protecting Muslims and Islam. There was nothing in technology that went against religion: he had read the Bible and the *injīl*/Gospel in Spanish, he assured his readers, and had found their ideas similar to those in Islamic doctrine.[52] Neither the revelations of the People of the Book nor the Holy Qur’an proclaimed anything against cannon technology.

Both Ibn Ghanim and Ibn Qasim believed in the possibility of standing up to invasions and conquests, and of protecting the lands of Islam. Indeed, Ibn Qasim was encouraged because the confrontation with Europeans was at a turning point. After all, he was working on the book while the Thirty Years’ War was raging in Europe (he finished it in July 1638). Ibn Ghanim had traveled the seas on Spanish galleys for seven years and had also been writing during the Thirty Years’ War (he finished the book in October 1632, after two years of work). Both men could not help but feel that the time was propitious for Islamic resurgence. Ibn Qasim reported that he had read in Christian

> books, and realized in discussions with their noblemen and commoners how much fear they have in their hearts of the Turks, a fear that never lets them rest neither at day nor at night. For they have lost hope that the Ottoman state would end with the sixteenth sultan. They had reached that conclusion by reading John the disciple who wrote one quarter of the Gospel and then wrote a very symbolic book known as Apocalypse. They interpreted some of its symbols according to their whim and desire, but God proved that their sayings were wrong and false.[53]

There was fear in Christendom, and Muslims should seize the opportunity to translate and appropriate technology in order to overcome their decline. God was already on their side and the Muslims should act.

Ibn Ghanim and Ibn Qasim saw themselves as mediators between the two worlds—translators, both literally and metaphorically, of the unfamiliar and the foreign into the language and culture of Western Islam. Both emphasized the importance of the Euro-Christian technology as well as the danger that accrued if that technology was ignored. As David James has so perceptively observed about Ibn Ghanim’s *Kitab*, “in both subject-matter and the technical precision of its language, [it] is unlike anything written in the Arab world before Muhammad Ali encouraged the translation of European technical and scientific works.”[54] Where both Ibn Ghanim and Ibn Qasim, and perhaps other Moriscos, failed was in thinking that they could advocate technology without science—that they could acquire and teach *sinaʿa* without *ʿilm*. They believed that science could be separated from its rationalist foundations, or at least that the rationalist foundations could be ignored and turned into a tool—a cannon—that did not challenge revelation or endanger belief. It is possible that they did not feel that they could propose a challenge to the *ʿilm* since science necessitated epistemological changes—which would be difficult to institute in an environment that accused Moriscos of being Christianized Muslims and viewed them with suspicion and mistrust. That was why Ibn Ghanim focused on one topic only in his treatise: before he would proceed to write other treatises about other technologies, he wanted to see if his new epistemology of empirical observation would be accepted. The challenge was to show the relevance of modern technology without jeopardizing Islam—and he could do so only by appealing to some hadiths of the Prophet, but more directly and forcefully, to the model of the Ottomans (in the same manner that his forefathers, the Mudejars, had turned to the Ottomans to justify their use of non-Arabic in their devotions). Strangely, Ibn Ghanim did not think of looking back at Islamic history and invoking examples from the past, when Muslim scientists had ruled the world of learning—even to look back at Ibn Rushd in Cordoba and his arguments justifying the use of Greek learning and methodology in Islamic philosophy. It is perhaps indicative of the tragedy of the Moriscos that they were by far more informed about European thought than about Islamic.

No action ensued from the audience to whom *Kitab al-ʿIzz* was addressed despite the interest it generated among copyists. In the following century, Ibn Hamadūsh al-Jaza'iri (b. 1695) developed some interest in cannon deployment and technology,[55] but generally the Morisco call was not heeded, notwithstanding the popularity of *Kitab* and the numerous copies that were made. Subsequently, the Moriscos in North Africa withdrew to the separateness of their blue-colored villages, unable to influence the course of events among their coreligionists.[56] In this respect, the Moriscos represented the only Muslims in the early modern period who thought of knowledge as an instrument of power. They were curious men whose curiosity was not just for information but also for praxis: defending the Muslim world, fighting against enemies, and perhaps regaining their lost homes.

Western Muslims were not able to match their European rivals in the development of technology, nor were they able to build the infrastructure that was needed for sustaining and improving local *sinaʿa*/engineering. This inability to link knowledge with technology was one factor in the beginning of decline, but it should not be dissociated from another, equally important factor: Magharibi inability to defend themselves against the destruction that was visited on their ports and harbor cities by the European fleets. From the second half of the seventeenth century, these fleets destroyed and burned trading ships, docks, food supplies, and whole sections of the port cities from Tunis to Algiers and from Aghadir to Tripoli (see translation #11b). And as much as the North Africans tried to recover from such devastation, every bombardment further stunted their technological and commercial growth—at the same time that the British and French technologies were advancing uninterruptedly.

Despite the growing power of European fleets and armies, sultans, beys, and deys hoped that the Euro-Christians would engage rather than invade or destroy them. They remained completely oblivious to the exclusionary nationalism that was developing in Europe[57] and to the sharp line that was being drawn to separate them and other Muslims from Western Christendom. After all, not a single European political theoretician—or, for that matter, religious thinker, statesman, or writer—argued for a place within the “religio-national state” and “western civilization/Christendom” for the Muslim qua Muslim. Only in the writings of John Locke at the end of the seventeenth century did the possibility of tolerance for Muslims qua Muslims in England arise: but nowhere else before him.[58] And despite the importance of Locke’s theory, no practical changes were instituted (until the nineteenth century) to make possible Muslim citizenship in the western national state in the way that the Qur’anically guided Islamic principalities and empires had made for the religious minority. Meanwhile, in the Ottoman-administered cities of the North African coast, as well as the royal cities of Morocco, there existed frequently a mix of peoples, religions, and languages similar to the “polylingual, polyethnic, and polyreligious metropolis” of Istanbul, which, as Daniel Goffman noted, stood in sharp contrast to the monochromatic cities of the European world.[59] Magharibi society was more capable of accommodating the Euro-Christians as visitors and residents than was European society because there was no structural reason to prevent the Euro-Christians from becoming, if they chose, part of the Muslim community. The racial binary that dominated Europe and Eurocentrism in the early modern and modern periods and that proved instrumental in conquest, expulsion, and ethno-national cleansing is notably absent in North African writings. Magharibi writers very rarely refer to the racial character of the *nasara* (or, for that matter, of their own compatriots and coreligionists); and if they do, they do not project racist purposes. When Magharibi feared or hated, cursed or liked the Europeans, it was not because of skin color; it was because of actions and words.

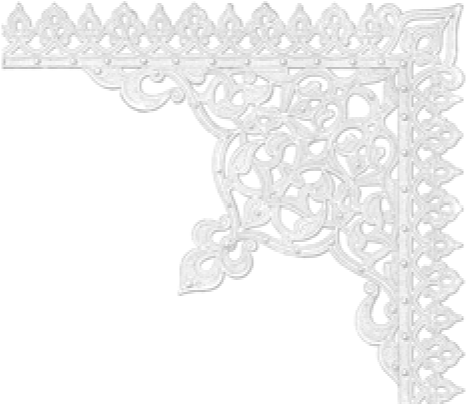
At the beginning of modernity, Western Muslims may well have believed that some kind of modus vivendi would prevail in the Mediterranean between them and the Euro-Christians. It was not they, therefore, who treated the “Other as the unbeliever,” as Bernard Lewis has maintained;[60] rather, it was the Euro-Christians who treated the Muslim unbeliever as Other—and then, as in 1492 and 1609, expelled him. Still, in 1699, Mulay Ismaʿil turned to the *ifranj*/French and proposed to join their advanced *dunya*/world to his hallowed *dīn*/religion. He sent his ambassador ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAisha to negotiate a military and commercial alliance that was to be sealed by marriage between Ismaʿil and one of the natural daughters of King Louis XIV, the princess de Conti. Such a move seemed the only available option for the most powerful potentate in Western Islam—and reveals yet another reason for decline. Unlike his contemporary Peter the Great, who recognized Western European superiority and forcefully—even brutally—imposed it on Russia, and unlike K'ang-his, emperor of China (reg. 1661–1722), who consulted European visitors but turned to his country's rich intellectual legacy to prepare China's gradual transformation,[61] Mulay Ismaʿil did not use force to impose a European-like modernity on his society, nor did he delve into the rich legacy of Islamic science, literature, and historiography to find inspiration for change and transformation. What mattered to him was the longevity of his rule, which he hoped to buy through marriage.

In the only instance when a cross-religious royal blood alliance was proposed in the early modern Mediterranean, Ismaʿil turned to consolidate relations by going beyond the Christian-Islamic divide.[62] He promised that his French bride would have her own palace, run her own affairs, and keep her own religion—which was much more than the Huguenots had been allowed a decade earlier in France. The *harangue*/speech that Ibn ʿAisha delivered before the French king in Paris captures that moment when an Arab-Muslim potentate thought that he might join with European Christendom in creating a new Mediterranean. The friendship between Morocco and France would, Ibn ʿAisha said,

> procurera le repos et la tranquillité aux peuples aprés une si longue guerre. C'est elle qui … rendra les Maures Français et les Français Maures/bring about peace and tranquility to the people after such a long war. That is what will make the Moors, French, and the French, Moors.[63]

The *harangue* expressed the hope for inter-identification between the Magharibi and the French, the Muslim and the Christian—what Albert Hourani, in another context, described as "Arabo-Latin"[64] accord. Ibn ʿAisha proposed that the French become Moors and the Moors French, effecting thereby a transformation of identities and realizing an engagement of civilizations, rather than a clash.

Ibn ʿAisha's/Mulay Ismaʿil's goal fits into Richard Bulliet's thesis regarding an Islamo-Christian civilization that went beyond the medieval period and well into early modern times—at least from the Arabo-Islamic side. As Bulliet argued, the idea that Christian and Islamic civilizations between the rise of Islam and 1500 were completely apart from each other is untenable given the extensive interaction, cohabitation, exchange, and as in Ahmad ibn Qasim, love between the followers of the two monotheisms. Unfortunately, as Ibn ʿAisha was proposing venues of Mediterranean inter-identity, "the siblings [Christendom and Dar al-Islam] that had for so long trodden the same developmental path parted company."[65] Although the Muslim West continued with its overtures for cooperation, alliance, collusion, and commercial interdependence with the *nasara*, the Euro-Christians began consolidating the binary that would separate them permanently from the Muslims—in North Africa as in the Levant, in geography as in eschatology, in the epics of religio-national confrontation with Islam (Camoes, Tasso, Lope de Vega, and others) as in the courts of Paris and London. By the time Mulay Isma῾il died in 1727, Western Christians had sealed their borders against the integration of "Moors" and "Turks" and forcibly de-islamicized their lands, thereby producing the polarization that eventually launched the armies of European empire.



PART TWO

TRANSLATIONS

Some of the texts below were written by jurists whose command of the language was firm. Others were written in poor Arabic, with colloquialisms, neologisms, and transliterations of words adopted from European languages, especially Spanish. Arabic had clearly passed its golden age and was trying to cope with its encounter with Western Christendom, which was undergoing vast geographical and cultural expansion.[1]

In these translations I have tried to retain, as much as possible, “the foreignness of the translated text”[2] and on occasion, especially in correspondence, some of the syntactical and repetitive peculiarity. The texts were written in various styles and genres.

I have arranged the texts chronologically. The contents, however, do not always correspond to the time of composition.

All quotations from the Qur’an are from the translation by Saheeh International, Riyadh (Abulqasim Publishing House, 1997).

TEXTS

1. 1578: **Letters of Radwan al-Janawy on Muslim Captives**, in *Tuhfat al-Ikhwan*, Rabat National Library, MS Kaf 154, fols. 423–424, 427–428.
2. After 1588: **Description of the Defeat of the Armada**, by Abu Faris ’Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Fishtali, in *Rasaʾil Saʿdiyah*, ed. ʿAbdallah Gannūn, 152–157.
3. ca. 1589–1591: **A Journey from Morocco to Istanbul and Back**, in Abu Hasan ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli Muhammad al-Tamjruti, *Al-Nafhah al-Miskiyah fī al-Safarah al-Turkiyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Latīf al-Shadhili, 28–29, 41–42, 65, 74–76, 84–86, 90–94, 128–132, 140–141.
4. After June 1596: **Description of the English Attack on Cadiz**, in Abu Faris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Fishtali, *Manahil al-Safa*’, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Karīm, 193–196.
5. 1613–1618: **Description of Pisa and Florence**, in *Lunban fī ʿAhd al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿni al-Thani*, ed. Asad Rustum and

Fu’ad Afram al-Bustani, 208–224.

6. 1623: **Expulsion of the Moriscos and the Miraculous Ransoming of Muslim Captives**, in Al-Muntasir ibn Abi Lihya al-Qafsi, *Nūr al-Armash fī Manaqib al-Qashash*, ed. Lutfi ʿIsa and Husayn Bujarrah, 138–141, 151–154.
7. 1633–1635: **Letters from Tunis by Osman/Thomas d’Arcos, a Convert to Islam**, *Les Correspondants de Peiresc: Lettres inédites publiées et annotées*, ed. Philippe Tamizey de Larroque, 2:23–28, 36–39. French original.
8. 1635: **Letter About Muslim Captives Converted to Christianity**, Rabat National Library, MS Jīm 223, 101–103.
9. 1635: **Expulsion of the Moriscos**, Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ ibn Muhammad al-Andalusi, *Al-Anwar al-Nabawiyah fī Aba’ Khayr al-Bariyah*, in A. Turki, “Wathai’q al-Hijra al-Andalūsiyah al-Akhīrah,” *Hawliyat al-Jamiʿah al-Tunisiyah* 4 (1967): 27–39.
10. 1642: **Description of the World**, in Ahmad ibn Qasim, *Nasir al-Dīn ʿala al-Qawm al-Kafirīn*, ed. Muhammad Razzūq, 95–99.

11a.Before 1688: **Christian Attack on Jarbah (Tunisia) in 1510**, in Sulayman ibn Ahmad al-Hilati, ‘*Ulama*’ *Jarbah*, ed. Muhammad Qawjah, 32–39.

11b. 1685: **Bombardment of Tripoli, Libya**, by the French Fleet, in Ahmad ibn Khaled al-Nasiri, *Talʿat al-Mushtari*, 2:28–30.

12. 1681–1691: **Battle Accounts**, in *Taqayīd Tarīkhiyah*, Rabat Royal Library, MS 12352.
13. 1590–1654: **Euro-Tunisian Piracy**, in Ibn Abi Dinar, *Kitab al-Mu’nis fī Akhbar Ifrīqiyah wa Tūnis*, 190–202.
14. Before September 2, 1706: **Letter of Mulay Isma’il to the English Parliament**, *Les Sources … Filalienne*, ed. Brissac, 6:349–354.
15. November 1, 1707: **Letter from a Captive in France**, Jamal Vannan, *Nusūs wa Watha’iq fī Tarīkh al-Jaza’ir al-Hadīth 1500–1830*, 144–145.

16a. 1713: **Letters of Bentura de Zari, Moroccan Ambassador Under House Arrest in London**, National Archives, Kew, SP 71/16/63–65, 70–71. English original.

16b. January 12, 1717: **Letter of Mulay Isma’il to Philip V**, in Muhammad al-Saghīr al-Ifranī, *Rawdat al-Taʿrīf*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahab Benmansour, 133–134.

17. 1726–1727: **On Quinine**, in Husayn Khūjah, *Al-Asrar al-Kamīnah*, ed. al-Karray al-Qusantīni, 31–43.
18. Mid-eighteenth century: **Captivity in Malta**, in Abu al-Qasim al-Zayani, *Al-Tarjumanah al-Kubra*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Filali, 192–193.
19. 1782: Muhammad ibn ʿUthman al-Miknasi. **Falling in Love in Naples**, in *Al-Badr al-Safir li Hidayat al-Musafir ila Fikak al-Asara*

min Yad al-ʿAduww al-Kafir. Rabat National Library, MS Ha 52, fols. 145–150.

20. 1798: **Letter from a Female Captive in Malta**. Muhammad Razzūq, *Dirasat fī Tarīkh al-Maghrib*, 178–181.

1

1578: LETTERS OF RADWAN AL-JANAWY ON MUSLIM CAPTIVES, IN TUHFAT AL-IKHWAN, *RABAT NATIONAL LIBRARY,* MS KAF 154, *FOLS. 423–424 AND 427–428.*

Radwan al-Janawy al-Fasi was a reformer, originally from Genoa (as his name indicates), who converted to Islam.[3] *He fought in the battle of Wadi al-Makhazen and, soon after, wrote these two letters to the victorious ruler, Ahmad al-Mansur. In the first letter, he urged an extension of the war to liberate some of the outposts still occupied by the Portuguese in Morocco. In the second, angrier letter, Radwan criticized al-Mansur for accepting ransom money for Portuguese captives, while Muslims remained in Christian chains. Al-Janawy was so agitated about Muslim captives that a number of stories circulated about his miraculous ability to help them escape. Notwithstanding his Euro-Christian origin, he mastered Arabic and committed himself to the cause of his coreligionists against Christian invasion and abduction. He died in 1583.*[4]

Letter I

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. The prayer of God on our lord Muhammad and his family and companions: may they be safeguarded.

Thanks be to God. From ʿAbdallah Radwan ibn ʿAbdallah to the Prince of the Faithful, Sultan Abu ʿAbbas Ahmad son of our noble seyyids and protectors, the peace, mercy and blessing of God almighty be upon you.

Hence: May God help you and us to protect His charge, uphold what He has entrusted us of His laws, and assist us in fulfilling our trust as He has decreed. Amen. Thanks be to God and thanks again for His manifold blessings: for giving victory to Islam and its people, for defeating infidelity and its people, and for destroying the infidels and breaking their necks. There is no blessing greater than the glory of religion [Islam] and the humiliation of its faithless adversaries. May God increase your endeavour and joy, so you continue in your endeavour until it becomes your mission and vocation. It was the vocation of your grandfathers, peace and prayer of God upon him and his honorable companions, who spent their lives in fighting the infidels, and dispensed their wealth and gave up their lives for their beloved Prophet. They persevered until they rectified religion—following the path of the Lord of Messengers, may God be pleased with them all.

And you, may God grant you victory: follow that path with all your might, and do not slacken in what His blessed and almighty majesty has delegated to you. Islam has a force that cannot be defeated, for God almighty has said: "So do not weaken and call for peace while you are superior, and Allah is with you and will never deprive you of [the reward of] your deeds" [47:35]. To serve God is to be victorious over the adversary and to gain the supreme goal. God said: "If Allah should aid you, no one can overcome you; but if He should forsake you, who is there that can aid you after Him? And upon Allah let the believers rely" [3:160].

Note this. God is in your decisiveness and perseverance. Your subjects know that now is the appropriate time to seize the opportunity and attack the cities of the infidels, which are Tangier, Asila, and Ceuta. For at this hour, the infidels are in fear and humiliation because of what God has done to them. We do not think, God grant you victory, that you are unaware of this and in need of our reminding.

I have learned of some people who were unable to participate in the battle, that they have been in great sorrow and despondency—having failed to be with you. Glory be to God for the exaltation of Islam and its people, and for the degradation of infidelity and the humiliation of its followers.

Accept the testimony of him who wishes you well, and asks God almighty to console you in the calamity of your brother's death [ʿAbd al-Malik died in battle, 1578], may God receive him with forgiveness and mercy. Amen. And we ask God almighty to bless you and bless the Muslims under your leadership.

Letter II

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. The prayer of God on our lord Muhammad and his family and companions: may they be safeguarded.

From ʿAbdallah Radwan ibn ʿAbdallah, to the Prince of the Faithful, Abu ʿAbbas Ahmad son of our noble seyyids and protectors, may God grant him victory. Peace be with you, and the mercy and blessings of God almighty.

Hence: May God help you and us to protect His charges, and uphold what He has entrusted to us of His laws, and sustain us until we meet Him, so He will be satisfied with us.

To you, I praise God and none but Him, and my desire, God willing, is to confide in you about what is burning inside me. A poet has said: Best is to complain to those who have courage: either they will console, distract, or pity you.

Thus: How can all those infidels return to their lands, and our brothers, the Muslims, are still their captives in dire suffering and humiliation? We are able to leave not a single captive in their hands. Ransom is a religious duty upon us to be dispensed from the treasury and from the moneys of all the people. Not a single Muslim should remain [in captivity]. God has brought about this great victory, and we owe it to God almighty. The Muslims have captured the chiefs of infidelity, but they return to their lands having paid insignificant ransom sums, which Islam does not need. Meanwhile, our brothers and sisters remain in their hands, as if captivity were an easy matter. No, by God, it is not easy. For whoever is able to help and does not will be judged, both the ruler and the subjects. If there is a need for money, there is a lot of it in the West; and before this booty, were you in need of it? You were, thanks be to God, not in need.[5]

By God, by God, liberate the captives with all your might. Did you not know that the Christian priest ransoms important Christians for very little, and sends them to their lands, and the people are silent, uncaring? “Indeed we belong to Allah, and indeed to Him we will return” [2:156].

And I heard that for the captured son of the duke, numberless [Muslims] can be exchanged. By God, by God, for God is in this matter. You are the best of men to effect their liberation, for it is certain that the liberating of captives is dear to God almighty: “And whatever good you do—Allah knows it” [2:197].

We have learned, God be praised, that you are a man of religion. May God increase your good deeds, and help you.

By God, by God: appoint the jurist Sīdi Saʿīd al-Saʿīdi, and command him to do what we have asked of you. And peace be with you and the mercy and blessings of God almighty.

2

After 1588: Description of the Defeat of the Armada, by Abu Faris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Fishtali, in Rasa’il Saʿdiyah, *ed. ʿAbdallah Gannūn, 152–157.*

Abu Faris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Fishtali was born in Fishtala, near Fez, in 1549. He studied in Fez and in 1580 became court scribe to the heir to the throne, Muhammad al-Sheikh al-Maʾmūn. In 1585 he joined the court of Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur, where he wrote the official letters *and composed poetry in praise of the ruler. His main work was a history of the Saʿdian dynasty,* Manahil al-Safa'. *Only the part about al-Mansur has survived, and that covering only fifteen years of his reign. The rest, constituting eight volumes, as one contemporary stated,*[6] *has been lost. Al-Fishtali continued writing about the Saʿdians until his death in 1641.* Manahil *was widely read and remained influential for more than a century as eighteenth- century historians copied extensive passages from it.*

The letter that al-Fishtali wrote to describe the defeat of the Spanish Armada shows how much al-Mansur and his administration were informed about European military actions and other affairs. Al-Mansur and his scribe knew about the religious cause of the conflict between England and Spain, the piratical attacks by England on the Spanish New World fleet, and events before and during the Armada attack. The letter also reveals Moroccan/Muslim familiarity with the political changes in western Christendom. Al-Mansur had European affairs at the forefront of his reconfiguration of the balance of power and situated the inter-European and the Moroccan-Spanish conflicts within the context of a Muslim teleology of jihad—in which he was the chief mujahid/struggler and imam/leader.[7]

It has been incumbent upon us to provide you with every good tiding that reaches us, and to share with you all the happy news that pertains to our exalted station in all times and places. Therefore, the enemy of religion, the infidel (may God increase his sorrow and weaken his hold), the tyrant [*taghiya*][8] of Qishtala [Castile] who is today against Islam and who is the pillar of polytheism [*shirk*] and the one against whom both sword and destruction should, by religious duty, be wielded: he met his kind in the Sultana of the lands of Niglateera [England] whom God had turned, from among his own kind, into an enemy to preoccupy him.

Their enmity started after she and her people renounced the religion and law of the Christians, and left their denomination. For years thereafter, she attacked the tyrant in his own dominion with her fleet, and time after time, she annihilated with her swords the army of his supporters and defenders, and every day, she caused funerals in his land. Like the coming of the night, her sea ships repeatedly fell on his fleets until he began to suffer from her as from an incurable disease, for he was smitten by the blades and swords of her wars. So he decided to send his fleet against her lands, and to confront her with his armies on her very own turf, to show his strength (in which God was presaging his harvest of thorns). He rolled up his sleeves in preparation and readiness, and to raise [his forces] exhausted the near and the far, until he had a formidable fleet. He spent four consecutive years in building it, using up all his effort, strength, resources, and determination.

When the fleet was ready, he launched it to sea, after manning it with countless nations from the assemblies of polytheism and the parties of infidelity, so much so that none of his supporters were left…. [missing word/s] in all his regions and lands. The fleet sailed to the lands of Niglateera, breaking the waves, and seeking glory and celestial ascent [*miʿraj*]. Once the fleet drew near to her [England] and made ready for battle, and lay in wait at the end of her island and the borders of her land [Land's End?], God sent a sharp wind [*rīhan sarsaran*] against the fleets of the *taghiya* that broke up their formation and pushed them onto the enemy's lands, bringing down their flags and banners. Niglateera saw an opportunity and seized it: the [English] fleet attacked that strong fleet and brought upon it defeat. The whirlpool of death overcame all the Castilian throngs, and God almighty extirpated and rooted them out. None escaped drowning except those who were killed by the sword, and blessed be almighty God, by the weapons of war. None of those infidel hordes that were so numerous as to exceed the number of pebbles and sand grains survived the embroilment—to God is due the multitude of blessings which are as many as sand and pebbles—except one city captain, a leader of those infidel armies and losing gang that was defeated. Wounded, he alone escaped the trap of death. Had death found him, he would not have had to swallow his humiliation: death would have given him rest.

God closed upon the tyrant his circle of evil, and brought upon him what He had wrought, clipping the wings of his armies, and restraining his power. These actions were, thanks be to God in this dear matter, the harbingers of success and conquest, and a sign for him [al-Mansur] to fulfill his awaited promise: of taking possession, by God's will, of his [tyrant's] lands and territories, and of confronting him with the victorious soldiers of God on his own turf. He [al-Mansur] would go to the aid of the helpless goat kids [Moriscos] who had been defeated in earlier times and by earlier peoples, and had been exposed to his [tyrant's] fangs and claws—especially those in the lands of al-Andalus which are, to our swords, and by God's help, an attainable goal. For al-Andalus is the trust that shall be retrieved, with God's help, by our own hands, and the necklace which time has reserved for our necks.

The sign that shows that the time of conquest is approaching, with God's will, and that the hour and instance are at hand is the arrival, at this same time, of a messenger from the keeper of Constantinople who is coming before our imamate presence, and to our sublime and exalted porte, bespeaking peace with us, and eager for truce and cessation of enmity with us, taking the initiative himself, and prosecuting it to his utmost. We have been informed that he had openly consulted all people of his kingdom and all the members of his government. We have promised the arriving messenger, God willing, to let him meet with us in Fez, may God protect it, for he now stays there, and awaits us at our exalted thresholds.

Perhaps, God willing, the unity of the word of Islam by this peace which is soon to be announced between the two countries, and confirmed between these two kingdoms [Morocco and the Ottoman Empire], will help to turn all attention, with God's help, to fight [*mujahadat*] the enemy of religion, and to attack the parties of the atheistical polytheists, until God fulfills for him [al-Mansur] His promise in this dear matter, to conquer the lands, God willing, far and near, and to expel the nation of infidelity from its strongholds and outposts, with God's help and might.[9]

The letter shows the accuracy of al-Fishtali's information about events in England and the Channel: the captain who was mentioned in the letter had also been noted by the Fugger spy in his news-letter. It was "Duke Medina Sidonia and de San Lucar, in command of the Spanish Armada, [who was] brought in there [Calais]. Half his head seems to have been shot off."[10] *Al-Fishtali and his master al-Mansur also knew about the course of the sea battle: how a storm had first ravaged the Spanish fleet, after which the English fell on it and destroyed it. Also noteworthy about al-Fishtali's letter is the attitude he expresses toward Christian infighting. Al-Fishtali proclaims God on the side of England's queen: the difference between her Protestant Christianity and Spain's Catholicism was known to al-Fishtali and his master, and its relevance understood (but not perhaps the theological details). The war between Spain and England was religious, resulting from the break between Queen Elizabeth and her people from the "Christianity" of Philip; there was also the commercial and maritime factor regarding England's piratical attacks on the Spanish American fleet. What was important for al-Fishtali and the Marrakesh court in all this European religious and military rivalry was that the queen was worthy of praise, despite being a Christian. God, who for al-Fishtali and to his audience was the God of Muslims, had helped the Christian/English queen against the Spanish tyrant—which was why al-Mansur's Muslim armies were intent on fighting only the "atheistical polytheists" and not Elizabeth's monotheist Christians. It is crucial to note the Qur'anic phrase that al-Fishtali used, "rīhan sarsaran" (41:16). The phrase describes the furious wind that God sent on the sinful people of Aad and destroyed them. Interestingly, the people of Aad had been known to be a seafaring people (supposedly in the southwest corner of the Arabian peninsula) and great builders—much like the Spaniards. As God had* *punished the people of Aad, so had He punished the Spaniards. For al-Fishtali, religious difference (with England) was less important than political, ideological, and military cooperation. Indeed, God Himself seemed to support such cooperation—for He had supported Elizabeth against Philip—for the benefit of al-Mansur's Islamic goal.*

3

CA. 1589–1591: A JOURNEY FROM MOROCCO TO ISTANBUL AND BACK, IN ABU HASAN ʿALI IBN MUHAMMAD IBN ʿALI MUHAMMAD AL-TAMJRUTI:[11] AL-NAFHAH AL-MISKIYAH FĪ AL-SAFARAH AL-TURKIYAH, ED. ʿABD AL-LATĪF AL-SHADHILI, 28–29, 41–42, 65, 74–76, 84–86, 90–94, 128–132, 140–141.

Not much is known about al-Tamjruti (ca.1534–1594/1595) except what appears in his travelogue. He was born in Tamjrut, Morocco, and brought up in a house of learning, with members of his family playing active roles in Sufi circles. He studied in Tunis and then was sent by the Moroccan ruler Ahmad al-Mansur as an ambassador to Istanbul. He went again in 1590, after which he wrote an account of his journey. Al-Tamjruti relied on his notes as well as on writings of earlier Arab travelers, including the famous Ibn Battuta. His style is clear, with little literary pretensions, but as in many Arabic travel writings, there are numerous digressions in verse about hospitable jurists and holy men.

Al-Nafhah *is the first Arabic text in the early modern period that reflects on European piracy and Muslim fear of sea travel and captivity, and it adumbrates themes that will dominate Western Islamic imagination regarding the Euro-Christians for generations to come. Al-Tamjruti returned to his native town on March 27, 1591, and died in Marrakesh in 1594. The travelogue was composed between those dates.*

There is an excellent introduction to, and translation of, the complete account (into French) by Henry De Castries, En-Nafhat al-Miskiya fi-s-sifarat et-Tourkiya *(Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929).*

On 1 Shawwal 997/August 13, 1589, the day of the Feast of Fitr, we left Tetouan by sea. It was Sunday, two nights before the end of August. As we sailed, the waves rose against us, the winds blew, and the sea became turbulent, and remained so until the end of the day. We cast anchor in Tergha after great difficulty. The captain said that we had to reduce the number of passengers lest the ship sink. So he released a group of passengers, including some of our servants. We allowed that for their and our safety. About Tergha, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih [d. 940] has said in his *Al ʿIqd* [*al-Farīd*]: “it is a big walled city with a central mosque.” It is a region famous for weaving, and is eight miles from Wadi Law [Chifchauen], and from there twenty-four miles to Tetouan.

We sailed to the gulf port of Badis, the ship unstable, rocking left to right. So the captain rearranged the cargo until the ship steadied on the water. At night, we crossed [the island of] Badis where there are Christians, may God destroy them.[12] We continued near Fourk [Ras al-Ourk, Cap des Trois Fourches], a rectangular mountain protruding into the sea. It is a frightening spot because fishermen from among Christian and Muslim mariners, who are called in their language *qarasīn* [corsairs], lurk there. They seize whomever they find of their weak enemies, and ships are often taken there. To the east was Melilla, a city controlled by Christians today, may God return it to Islam.[13] We docked in the islands of Malwiyya [Zaffarine], three islands near each other, where the river Moulouya flows into the sea. There, we stayed for two days, delayed by a strong easterly wind that churned up the waves of the sea. The inhabitants of Tetouan told us that the Christians, may God destroy them, followed us in eight ships from Ceuta. But God defeated them and sent them back empty-handed because of this eastern wind that enabled us to escape them, God be praised. They told us this after we had returned. We cast anchor in Hanīn, a walled city that is desolate today. Nothing remains except its wall, its mosque, and some fig trees.[14] We left it and passed by the city of Oran, which is controlled by Christians, may God destroy them and return it to Islam.

…

We sailed to the port of Ghar al-Milh [Porto Farino], where we stayed for one day. This port leads into Tunis and from there to the port of Halq al-Wadi [la Goulette], which is the port of Tunis. The three ports of Bizerte, Ghar al-Milh, and Halq al-Wadi serve the city of Tunis, but Bizerte is the largest. Ghar al-Milh is the most suitable for ships, but we did not find any ships there as sea captains fear attacks by the enemy. Halq al-Wadi is the most difficult for ships to navigate but nearest to the city, about twelve miles away. For the hardy, the distance between Bizerte and Tunis can be covered in one day.

Tunis is a great and well-populated city, a center of learning, industry, commerce, and virtue. It succeeded Qayrawan as the capital of the kingdom of Africa [at the end of the ninth century], and it is full of mosques praising God and markets abounding with goods by God’s bounty. At present, however, it has been weakened because of internal strife. The Turks seized it from the last Hafsides [in 1533], but then the Christians conquered it with the help of the Hafsides who had remained there.[15] The Christians divided the city in half between them and the remaining Muslims. They lived in the city fort and its precincts, while the Muslims settled elsewhere since the Christians destroyed all fortified gates, houses, and walls in the Muslim section. The Christians also built a strong fort outside the city gate, and another in the middle of the lake extending from the port to the city gate. At the port, the sea extends inwards as if into a throat, which is why it is called Halq al-Wadi [throat of the river]. But there is no sweet-water river there. The Christians built a magnificent and strong fort, a castle [*qashtīl*—a transliteration of *castile*] that the Turks were unable to raze when they seized the city. They filled it with provisions, equipment, men, and cannons to the point where they believed they had come to possess the land and that none could ever dislodge them. But the Turks attacked them with 450 ships from Constantinople and the rest of Africa, and with over 100,000 fighters. They landed, and for forty days, they laid siege to Halq al-Wadi, after which they seized it.[16] They then took the other two forts and the city fort and spread out into the rest of the land. They are in the city now. That happened in the year 982 [August 1574]. The Turks destroyed as much as they could of the castle, and, into one part of it, they brought fighters who could defend the port and turn it into a *ribat*.[17]

…

We sailed from Tunis and passed Ras Adar [Cap Bôn], a mountain stretching out into the sea. It is quite frightening because Christians lurk there and capture ships, sailing out from the nearby islands of Malta and Sicily. Sailors say in the dialect of Tunis: he who crosses Ras Adar, let him prepare the ransom at home, or something close to this. After that, we traveled to Kelibia, a pleasant port with a ruined fort. We cast anchor in the port of Sousse, where we stayed for two days. Sousse is a city with a very strong wall, a small population, few buildings but with a spacious and attractive mosque. In the past, many scholars sought to live in it. It boasts many jurists, including Yahya ibn ʿOmar, one of the foremost Malikis [d. A.D. 902]. It is said that the tomb outside the sea gate is his. There is also the jurist ʿAbd al-Hamid ibn Muhammad ibn al-Sayegh, buried outside to its east. And there are others.

We traveled to Monastir, very near Sousse, actually visible by eye. In the past, it used to be a city flourishing with scholars and seekers after knowledge. It has a *ribat*, designated for the learned, just like an educational institution: it is spacious and octagonal in shape and includes mosques for prayer, student housing, and large [book] depositories. In the distant past it used to be a residence for scholars and students. The *ribat* is supported by many charitable foundations from every city in Africa and al-Andalus. Food and subsidies are sent to it to cover the expenses of the students. In these times, however, the *ribat* has fallen into disrepair, but it is still the most fortified spot in the city, and whenever Christians attack from the sea, the inhabitants seek shelter inside it, where they hide their children. It is better fortified than their homes.

…

On Thursday evening, we sailed to the port of Tripoli, which we reached on the 26th of Dhu-l Qiʿda of the aforementioned year [October 6, 1589]. We found about sixty ships in the port, all from Constantinople, and with the admiral of the fleet. He is the pasha commanding the whole sea force and is governor general of all Africa.[18] He appoints whom he pleases, but consults with the Grand Vizier, who consults with the sultan. This pasha arrived with his army because of a revolt in Tripoli that brought about chaos and destruction, and ignited the fires of war.[19] The Bedouins supported the leader of the revolt, who seized the city and the surrounding villages, the desert, and all regions. He levied taxes and seized monies, then marched on the city and laid siege to it. He fought against it, killing all the soldiers or the inhabitants who came out. On one day, he killed 1,800 souls. He even killed the Jews who manned the artillery, along with others whom he killed on different days during raids and sorties. He built a big name for himself, and people submitted in fear to him. He took the daughters of their nobility in marriage and took up residence in their homes. He was brutal and harsh, unscrupulous in regard to [Qur’anic] law and the divine injunctions, and a shedder of blood. People turned against him when they saw how his deeds contradicted his words, for he had claimed to want to eradicate the evils of the Turks and to spread justice where the Turks had spread tyranny. He had spread many lies in order to attain his goal of taking over government and power. In truth, the Turks had tyrannized the people of that region, seizing their properties, possessions, and lands, even to the extent of taking the women of the Muslims. If they desired a daughter of one of the dignitaries or notables in marriage, none could stop them, and none could marry her other than they. There were many other deeds of humiliation and shame that they inflicted on the people. That is why all the people of Africa [Tunisia] supported the rebel: they listened to every claimant and followed every opponent [who rose up against the Turks], in the hope of relief.

We were greatly impressed to find the people yearning for the government of our Sharīfian rulers with all the comfort, justice, kindness, and benevolence that Moroccans enjoy. By God, we spoke with one of the notables of Tunis, while some dignitaries of Egypt whom we met in Constantinople wept tears and lamented for their condition. They yearn to find a way to settle in the Maghrib: they are willing to give up the world and all its treasures for that. May God help them and keep for us, the people of the Maghrib, what He has given us. May He perpetuate the reign of our rulers, descendants of the Prophet, God's peace and prayer upon him, until our *seyyid* Jesus, peace be upon him, stands in prayer behind them at the end of time. Amen.

…

[Al-Tamjruti left Tripoli on November 25, 1589.] God in His mercy calmed the sea and sent us favorable wind from the plenitude of His compassion—and as much as was needed. The winds carried us swiftly and safely, and we saw of His praiseworthy kindness what we could not have even conceived, to the point where the sailors wondered and exclaimed, "Never have we seen such calm and facility in these parts." God eased things for us because of His mercy. We crossed the sea, a distance of seven hundred miles, which would take twenty-eight days by land. We covered it from the time we left Tripoli on Saturday evening until the first third of the following Thursday night. We first sighted the Turkish mainland toward the evening of Wednesday. The captain had hoped to see land in the morning, and when he did not, he became despondent and anxious. Afraid, he kept on standing and sitting, fearing that he might have miscalculated or that an easterly wind would rise from the land and push the ship backward, which was certain perdition, or cast it onto the land of the enemy. He was brought lunch, but could not eat. He sent everyone he knew who had sharp eyesight up the mast to look for land, until a Turk saw it and called out from the top of the mast. The passengers on the ship broke out in joy and hope and congratulated the one who had had the first sighting of land. The captain then said: bring me my food and I will eat now. By the end of the third part of the night, we reached land and cast anchor in the port of Modon. We thanked God for His mercy, kindness, and generosity. To Him are thanks and praise.

That night, we left for Qoron and from there to Menemvasia and then to Qizil Hisar, which means in Turkish, red, that is, red barrier (putting the adjective after the noun) because of its red soil. It is on an island called Egripos. All these are strong fortifications with walls, turrets, men, artillery, and provisions. The sentinels are ever watchful, day and night, fearful of Christian attacks. We continued to the port of Saqis Adasi, which is a name for resin in their language and for which the island was named. Resin is exclusive to this island, from where it is exported to all regions. At the entrance of this port stands a big, strong fort, built with carved stone. We continued to an island [Tenedos] at the mouth of the strait [Dardenelles] that leads to Constantinople. The meaning of *būghaz* is "narrow strait at sea." Inside the strait there is a line of defense consisting of two forts facing each other on each of the two banks. A militia is stationed there with long-range artillery that can hurl projectiles across the face of the water to reach the other side. If there is a twig or a bird on the water, the cannons can hit it. This defense is at the entrance to Constantinople, and no ship can sail in or out without the permission of the militia—whom the sultan has stationed there to protect the sea from the enemy. The soldiers do not leave, day or night. If an enemy ship or a ship of the infidels sails through, they monitor it and then warn it with cannon shots or destroy it altogether. If they fail, they are severely punished.

I read in a history book that these fortifications that protect the sea were built during the caliphate of Muʿawiyah in Syria, may God be pleased with him [reg. 660–680]. During his reign, a patriarch of the patriarchs of Constantinople slapped a Muslim captive and insulted him. So the captive sought Muʿawiyah's help. When the caliph heard the news, he had a merchant who traveled into those [Greek] lands trick the patriarch and bring him before him. Muʿawiyah gave the merchant large amounts of money and valuables and ordered him to offer them to that patriarch to win him over. The merchant did as he was told. The patriarch agreed to meet with him in a meadow outside the city and to bring him various kinds of merchandise and clothing. The merchant took what Muʿawiyah had given him, and when the patriarch reached the meadow to receive the goods, the merchant seized him and sailed away in a strong ship and delivered him to Muʿawiyah. The latter commanded that the Muslim who had been slapped be brought before him, having been earlier liberated from captivity. The Muslim arrived, whereupon Muʿawiyah told him to slap the Christian and to do unto him nothing more than what had been done unto him. He then had the patriarch returned to his country in honor. The Christian was astonished at Muʿawiyah's justice. Since then, Christians treat captives well and do not abuse them. That is why they built the defense line. Thus the story has been told, and God alone knows the truth. Thanks be to God who has made that line a barrier against the entry of Christians into the lands of the Muslims, after the opposite had been the case. May God preserve that until the last day. Amen.

…

[Al-Tamjruti arrived in Constantinople on November 25, 1589].[20] This city is very big and surrounded by walls. Its gates are numerous, its population large, and its mosques either spacious or small. Also, there are numerous souks, hammams, and *funduks*. It is the capital of the lands of the *rūm*/Greek, the seat of their authority, and the city of Caesar. There are Muslims in it who are descendants of the Greeks and prefer the latter to the former line [of descent]. Even good calligraphy is called among them "Greek calligraphy." Its buildings surround its harbor, which is very spacious, penetrating deep into land. Many ships dock in the harbor: the galleons, barges, *mahonnes*, barques, galliots, frigates, galleys, boats, and canoes are as numerous as ants. People use ships like donkeys for their business to Galata and to other environs, hauling even grass, straw, and timber in them. They call the great city to the right of the harbor Istanbul, while the one to its north is Galata. The latter is small and also surrounded by walls, outside of which there are suburbs, and continuous rows of houses and buildings. They even build inside the sea, reclaiming it up with stones over which they set up buildings, or they dig wooden poles and raise houses atop them inside of which they live. The rows of buildings are continuous, and extend around the coast, staggered above each other.

There are few harbors like this one in the world in terms of capacity and safety from winds. Even if the sea becomes turbulent and the waves rise, the water inside the harbor remains calm. Large ships dock so near to the houses that a man can lift his feet from land and [directly] put them on board the ship. At the far side of the harbor is a sweet-water river.

There are numberless marketplaces in this city. If all the people on earth assembled in them, there would still be space for more. Also, the city has large and small mosques, all celebrating the worship of God. One of the greatest is the grand mosque, near the gate of the palace of the king, which they call Aya Sofia. It is an ancient building, one of the greatest and most amazing in the world. No description can do it justice since it cannot be truly appreciated except by sight. No mind can truly comprehend it by description only: reporting is not like experiencing. Before the advent of Islam, it had been a grand church, God knows, built in the size of the one in Jerusalem. Some histories state that it had been built by a king known as Constantine,[21] who, with his people, converted to Christianity and moved to Constantinople. He built the city and its churches, including this one. His statue shows him sitting on his throne.[22] Alternatively, it has been said that it was built by Asaf son of Barkhia, nephew of the maternal aunt of Solomon the Prophet, peace be upon him. Ibn Battuta said so, and only God knows what is the truth, for its architecture resembles that used by the jinn. Nobody can build a similar edifice.

In the middle of the mosque rises a magnificent huge dome, so high that pigeons fly in from under the alcove. To someone sitting on top, people below appear like birds. This building, high and gold-gilded, was the first we saw as we approached land from the sea. The circumference of the dome is more than a hundred paces. It is raised on thick columns quarried from huge blocks of stone, beautifully decorated, as if they were rocks quarried in the high mountains. The columns are marble, multicolored, rising high into the air, so huge and thick that not even the arms of two men can circle them. Around that large central dome, behind the columns and pillars, there are other smaller domes. Their ceilings are at a lower level from the central dome, because they provide a space for people to pray. A gallery surrounding the central dome on the outside is raised on iron columns that extend from the exterior wall. On one occasion I looked out from there, and from that height saw the people at the bottom of the dome like children.

Above this gallery, there are two other galleries also surrounding the dome. The walkways in them are narrow and are used by the servants of the mosque for sleeping. On the lower gallery, and all around it, there are glass lanterns that are lit during Ramadan and that are placed on three wooden platforms. The floor of this mosque is covered with marble plates, and its inside walls are all made of marble. There are various decorations inside the mosque, all in different designs and colors. None is like another in the delicacy of its construction or inlay. The decorations are covered with molten gold and are in various octagonal, hexagonal, and square shapes. These gold decorations show trees and leaves all in parallel lines, executed with marvelous precision. A beautiful site and shimmering view—had it not been for the effect of the passage of time on it.

There are numberless gold and glass lanterns hanging in the mosque. The *minbar* is high in the air, carved of a single slab of white pure marble. Above it is a gold dome. The *mihrab* is also carved of marble, and is surrounded by four copies of the Qur'an, raised on lecterns. To the right and left of the *mihrab* are incense-burning candles, raised on golden chandeliers. The *mihrab* is covered with expensive carpets and rugs up to the area under the middle of the dome. In the mosque, there are chairs for teachers, muezzins, and readers of the Qur'an, all raised on slabs of white marble covered with gold. Outside the mosque, there are numerous minarets with suspended lanterns that are lit during Ramadan, as are those inside the mosque, too, and in the rest of the minarets of the city, indeed in the whole East. Inside the mosque, there are many paintings and crucifixes, along with representations of the angels, Gabriel, Michael, Azrael, Israfil, and others. There are pictures of prophets in the upper level, John [the Baptist], Zachariah, Mary and her son Jesus in her arms, the manger of Jesus, and other infantilisms of the infidels. When the Muslims entered this building, they took down all the pictures of the cross along with other pictures, but left some.

There are many mosques in this city that have tried to imitate this one, but none has succeeded. How different are the heavens from the earth! "You have spoken but have not captured the essence."[23] The mosque that is most similar to this one is the Sulaymaniyya Mosque, built by Sultan Selim, where he lies buried.[24] The builders tried to imitate Aya Sophia in its architectural plan and construction. Four marble columns were brought from Alexandria aboard two ships, one of which sank with two of the columns, and the other arrived safely with the other two. So he placed those two here. One day, I met a man from Monastir [in Tunisia], who told me that he was in Alexandria when the four columns were quarried. The workers were unable to get them through the village gate, so they tore down part of the wall to make an opening. The edifice of Aya Sophia is stronger, grander, and more massive than that of the Sulaymaniyya Mosque, which is more spacious, elegant, and agreeable. God knows that the differences between them are the differences between their builders, between Islam and infidelity. Each bears the mark of its builder.

This city, along with the mosques, has running water. There are also vast numbers of people and merchandise, money and merchants, commodities, stores, and books. One marvels at the huge quantities that cannot be counted; only God almighty can. There are markets for every product, even the basest.

A fire broke out in the city in winter before we arrived. It was Saturday 21 Jamadi al-Awal [April 7, 1589]. After an inventory was conducted to evaluate the losses, it was found that among what was destroyed were twenty-eight mosques, both large and small,[25] twenty-two thousand houses, khans, and market places, which the Turks call *bedestan*, fifteen thousand shops, and nine communal baths—albeit the area that had been burned was quite small in comparison to the rest of the city. Those who lost most in the fire were the Jews, for the Jews and the Christians live among the Muslims.[26]

[Al-Tamjruti stayed in Istanbul for eight months and left on June 11, 1590, reaching Tripoli on July 9, 1590, after which he sailed to Algiers.]

We reached Algiers on Saturday the eighth of Dhu-l Qiʿda, the last night of August [August 29 in the Julian Calendar, September 8, 1590, in the Gregorian]. It is a prosperous city with many souks and large numbers of soldiers. It is well fortified with three gates and a spacious community mosque whose imam is Maliki. Three Friday sermons are delivered in it, one being reserved for the Turks, whose imam is Hanafi.

The Algiers harbor teems with ships whose captains are renowned for their courage, determination, and seaworthiness. They defeat the Christians in their own regions and are by far better than the captains of Constantinople, more terrifying and fearsome to the enemy. Algiers is the best city in Africa, with a large number of buildings and extensive trade, its souks so full of merchandise and goods that it is called Little Istanbul. There is a good number of students in it, but the love of the world and the search for material pleasures have overcome the Algerians. There are more books in it than in other parts of Africa, most of them from al-Andalus. In Algiers can be found the tomb of the virtuous servant of God Abu Zayd Sīdi ʿAbd al-Rahīm al-Thaʿalibi [d. 1471], as well as the tomb of the virtuous servant of God Abu al-ʿAbbas Sīdi Ahmad ibn ʿAbdallah al-Jazīri [d. 1470]. It is said by the people of the city that the tomb of the virtuous servant of God Abu al-Nūr is on the summit of the mountain. All tombs are outside Bab al-Wad [the River Gate]. There are other virtuous men whose tombs we visited for their blessing. May God have mercy on them and make us worthy of their *baraka*/blessing.

The two ships on which we sailed returned from Algiers to Istanbul, carrying large sums of money, the tax revenue, and gifts to the sultan, the vizier, the captain, and others. They also carried money for merchants, ammunition for soldiers, and other things. Many Muslims sailed in them, including the judge of the city with his possessions, wives, and children, along with merchants, pilgrims, and others. After they had sailed for a night, the renegade slaves and their captains along with the Christian rowers and other Christians attacked and killed the ship captains and all who resisted from among the Muslims. Some Muslims hurled themselves into the sea, some of whom swam to safety while others drowned. The Christians sailed in the two ships to their countries, seizing the money, women, and children and all the Muslim men who surrendered and who had neither fought nor thrown themselves overboard.

A man who was knowledgeable about the affairs of the pasha, the ruler of the city, told us that the pasha lost a thousand thousand *mithqals*. Another said that he lost eighteen gold *qintals*, not including the jewelry, clothing, merchandise, carpets, and Christian [slaves]. There was great lamentation in every house in Algiers because of what had happened to Muslim property and persons. “To God we belong and to him we shall return” [Qur’an 2:151].

A few days later, Captain Arna’ūt returned, having been away corsairing off Christian coasts. He had captured eight ships and eighteen Christians from the two ships that had been taken. The Christians [reported how they] had sailed back to their country on the captured small ship, carrying 18,000 *mithqals*. They explained that as soon as they reached Christian land, they divided the booty, each taking a thousand *mithqals*, after leaving 20,000 *mithqals* as offering to the church. They reported that they had planned on their perfidy and assault while they were on the ship with us, before reaching Algiers. We submitted to God almighty and thanked Him for His protection. As it was mentioned, the reason why they delayed their attack was that they deliberated and one said: “The two ships are now empty, carrying people only. Wait until they return from Algiers, carrying money and ammunition.” And so it was. There is no strength or power except in

God.

The Istanbul captains are stupid and careless. Nothing like this has ever happened to the Algiers captains.

…

As I have stated: in earlier centuries, Africa was the crown of the Maghrib. Its cities and forts were well inhabited and its scholars numerous; its kings were noble, its soldiers mighty, and its military victorious. In that time, its desert was like a city. But now, it has become desolate, weak, and forgotten. The enemy coveted it and occupied many of its coastlines and cities—such as Tunis, Tilimsen, Tripoli, Jarbah, Algiers, and others. Other cities they destroyed, such as Mahdiyya, Bijaya, and others. The virtuous imam Abu Ishaq Ibrahīm ibn Ahmad ibn ʿAli ibn Salīm al-Bakri al-Jibniyani, may God be pleased with him [d. A.D. 979], said: "I reached the coast of Africa and found that not a village but boasts a man of learning and Qur'anic knowledge, and [the tomb] of a virtuous man worthy of a visit. For God in His praiseworthiness and goodness defended the Muslims there, and saved Africa from the hands of the Christians, may God humiliate them. The Christians had nearly conquered it all, as they had all the coastal regions of Syria. They took Jerusalem, Nablus, Tripoli of Syria, Sidon, Beirut, Acre, Safad, Antioch, ʿAjlun, the ghor [of the Jordan Valley], Gaza, Askalan, Karak, Shobak, Baniyas, and all the territory reaching to the lands of Iyas and Sis, and the lands of Amad, Edessa, and Ashter. They killed large numbers of Muslims—only God knows their number. They took numberless captives from among their descendants, women and children, their number known only to God."

…

[The journey ended and al-Tamjruti arrived in Tetouan.] We finished with the terrors of the sea, God be praised, whose kindness kept us safe, despite the risks we took, which, if you fail in them you are lost, and if you succeed you are born again. [We are but] weakling humans riding the mighty sea, like worms on tree trunks. The distance that we had crossed at sea was 3,200 miles. Seven hundred miles were in the territory of the Turks, from Constantinople to Modon, and the same distance from there to Tripoli and then Kelibia, from Kelibia to Algiers, and from there to Tetouan. There are four hundred miles between Tripoli and Kelibia.

We stayed in Tetouan awaiting word from the Prince of the Faithful, God strengthen him, from Marrakesh. We visited the holy saint ʿAbd al-Salam ibn Mashīsh [d. 1228], the teacher of Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhli [d. 1258, founder of a Sufi order], God have mercy on their souls. His tomb is on the summit of the Alam Mountain, a high mountain from where we could see all the Habt region, the Andalusian coast and sands, Cadiz, the Fat-h Mountain, which is the Tariq Mountain

[Gibraltar]. Tariq [ibn Ziyad] was the slave of Musa ibn Nusayr. He was sent from Qayrawan and crossed the sea to al-Andalus and landed near this mountain, where he fortified himself until he conquered al-Andalus [in A.D. 711]. That is how it was named after him. Today, people call it Gibraltar without knowing its original meaning. Then his master, Musa ibn Nusayr, came here after the land had been conquered. And so the mountain came to be known as the Musa Mountain and the Fat-h Mountain. They are twin mountains and can be seen even from the port of Tetouan. The mountain of the aforementioned Sīdi ʿAbd al-Salam overlooks the cities of Tangier and Ceuta, may God return them to the house of Islam. It also overlooks the Tangier Sea, which is a strait between the sea and the ocean sea, but it is wider than the Constantinople strait over which the two fortresses protecting the city were built, as we have stated. Also, the mountain overlooks another mountain to the east of Fat-h Mountain, next to which we were told is Malaga, may God return that land to Islam, and liberate it from enslavement.

Then we received word from the Prince of the Faithful to proceed before his High Porte. So we left Tetouan on the first of Safar of the aforementioned year [November 29, 1590] and arrived in Marrakesh, may God protect it, on 10 Rabīʿ al-Thani [February 5, 1591], where we were warmly welcomed.

4

After June 1596: Description of the English Attack on Cadiz, in Abu Faris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Fishtali, Manahil al-Safa’, *ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Karīm, 193–196.*

The English attack on Cadiz in July 1596 was led by Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh, who used ten thousand English soldiers and five thousand Dutch soldiers. The attack ended in sixteen days of plunder in which the soldiers burned the city, including its cathedral.[27] *Al-Fishtali’s letter shows how the Moroccans were informed about the religio-denominational causes of the inter-European conflict and about the naval campaigns that had been launched by England against Spain. Possibly that information had been relayed to al-Mansur by Sir Edward Hoby, who had been sent to him from Cadiz after the English had conquered the city “in case help in galleys, men, or victuals should be needed from there.”*[28]

For al-Fisthali, all that was happening in Spain, France, and England was preparing for the fulfillment of his master’s reconquest of al-Andalus. With Christian, particularly English, swords, the history of the Mediterranean was about to be remade under the command of the

Moroccan Prince of the Faithful.

The sky darkened with dissension against the tyrant of Qishtala [Philip II], and the kings of the Christian nations attacked him like wild dogs. The most ferocious against him, and the one most daring in attacking his kingdoms and tightening the noose around him, was Isabell the sultana of the kingdoms of the lands of England. For our master, the prince of the faithful [al-Mansur], had lured her with his support and had sharpened her will against him [Philip II]. He showed her his willingness to help confront him [Philip II] by supplying her with copper to cast cannons, and saltpeter for ammunition, which he permitted her to buy from his noble kingdoms. He also supplied her with metals that were not found in her lands. With God helping him, he pitted her against the enemy of religion and, with God's help, and because of his [al-Mansur's] decisiveness, capable organization, and deep caution, he turned her against him [Philip II] and kept him busy with her.

Meanwhile, with God's help, he [al-Mansur] turned to raise an army against the lands of Sudan to conquer its kingdoms and to take possession of its land. With God's help, he succeeded because of his management, and he reached his goal and desire, thereby spiting the enemy of religion. The possessor [*sahibat*] of the lands of England was proud thus to be on his side, and she agreed to what he had tempted her with: she relied on the support of his strength, the greatness of his rule, the nobleness of his lineage, and the vastness of his kingdoms, and fought the tyrant, notwithstanding her own limited capability. She persisted in causing trouble for him [Philip II] and sent her soldiers against Lisbon, the capital of the lands of Portugal, in his dominions. So he decided to attack her, and began building a fleet to fight her, but her fleets defeated him and he retreated in humiliation. She became more daring in confronting him, and filled the sea against him with her fleets, and brought further defeats upon him. She was victorious and so continued in irritating him until her fleets attacked his fleet in the port of Cadiz in his coasts. She prevailed by capturing and drowning [his soldiers], and she prevailed over him at sea so much so that her fleets nearly cut him off from the bounty and imports of India. She denied his lands maritime and commercial outlets and, up until now, she has tightened her grip on him.

The *ifranj* [Franks/French] then came to her support in rebelling against him and adding to his difficulties. They attacked his kingdoms and dominions because the king of the *ifranj* had, in the past, ruled one of the strongest countries and most glorious kingdoms and largest dominions in word and deed. That king retreated bit by bit until his sphere of power diminished and his kingdoms were scattered. When the wind of the *ifranj* state subsided and grew weak as states do when they get old, the tyrant of Qishtala conquered some [of the French] territory. This conquest occurred at the same time that the peoples of those kingdoms adopted the new religion among the Christian nations known as Balaterian [Lutheran]. That change weakened the king of the *ifranj* because he decided to continue in his old religion and to steer, by force, his people to his religion. He was unable to do that, and so he distanced himself from them and left them and their religion, and ruled without a male heir, for females do not inherit the throne in his religion as they do among other Christians.

There was none closer to him and more entitled to the throne than his cousin, the sultan of the people of Nabara [Navarre], who would inherit his possession by right of maternal avuncularity. All the people, however, were of the religion of Latarin,[29] and so the tyrant of Qishtala coveted the kingdom of the *ifranj* because of the absence of an heir and because the people had turned away from his own religion. He started sowing dissension between the people and their sultan, and he tempted some of the inhabitants of Paris, the seat of their king, to kill him. Disaffection developed between them and the sultan, and he [Henry III] left Paris to Rouen, in his dominions, and he allied himself with his paternal cousin, the sovereign of Navarre [Henry of Navarre]. He then returned to Paris, but the agents of the tyrant of Qishtala schemed to betray him, and sent a *qissīs* [priest, Jacques Clement] who stabbed him [July 13, 1589]. The latter fought with his assassin and killed him instantly, but then he died of his wounds.

As a result, the sovereign of Qishtala came into possession of the kingdom of France, Brittany, Yarjoum [Ireland], and some of Navarre. After the departure of the sovereign of France, Paris established a league, which means a community that runs affairs together. The sovereign of Qishtala was part of that league [the Catholic League] as one of many and sent his army into Flanders. The sovereign of Navarre, the paternal cousin of the assassinated sultan, then took possession of Paris and reached out to the people of France. They joined together and started planning to regain their kingdoms and reestablish their dominion. They prepared to fight the tyrant of Qishtala over his possessions, and their armies repaired to Paris to attack him. They wrought [havoc] on his possessions and they pursued him with disasters, and it appeared to them that they would prevail. They persisted in fighting him and stood up against him until he was suffocating.

Joined by the possessor of the lands of England, they attacked him like dogs from every side, and were joined by a third party from the people of Flanders, who are the people of the tyrant's old kingdom from where he originates. They rebelled against him, and joining with the *ifranj* and the people of the lands of England, they inflamed with fire and sedition the people in the lands that he possessed. He was worn out with the fire of their wars, on land and by sea, and once they prevailed, they desired to disperse his descendants and divide his possession. At that time, the fleet of the sultana of the lands of England repaired against him with over two hundred ships charged with armies and soldiers of fire [arms], mightily led by Don Christobal [pretender to the Portuguese throne] who had been sent to the Prince of the Faithful [al-Mansur] by his father, Don Antonio, the sultan of Portugal. The latter had gone to the lands of England when the tyrant of Qishtala conquered Lisbon [in 1580], as we have already mentioned. Upon its [the fleet's] approach, the ships and screeching galleys of the tyrant fled into caverns, east and west, afraid of the attack of the predator-like ships of the people of England. The fleet sailed in greatness on the crests of waves like fortified strongholds and attacked the city of Cadiz, a city in Qishtala's coasts that is the chief gateway to the tyrant's possessions, the depository of heavy merchandise and vast monies from his dominions, the port of his fleet, and the passageway to his kingdoms. The city is the choice pick, resting on her seat in the Sea of Zukak [Gibraltar], proud and haughty and well fortified.

The fleet of the English deflowered [*iftadda ʿudhratahа*] and raped her. The Andalusian ships and the fleet of the tyrant that were ready for the India travel were lying there with their armies nearby. The fleet of the English descended upon her, but she was not able to fight back and was devastated. It was said that there were five ships of the tyrant loaded with money,[30] and it was said there was merchandise destined for the prospering land of India, worth two hundred thousand. The English were able to seize and take everything. They overcame the fleets and set them on fire, completely destroying them, burning and sinking them. They then attacked the city by force and seized it by the sword and despoiled it. They let loose the hands of havoc on her, and they seized its vast fortunes and its seaward possessions and its valuable merchandise—what no pen can calculate. The merchants of the city, along with the dignitaries and the protectors, sought shelter in the citadel. The soldiers surrounded it and poured in their cannons of fire. Those inside saw the red flames of death and surrendered, and pleaded for their lives. The soldiers ordered that money be stored in the houses as ransom, and it is said [that the sum] was a hundred and forty thousand ducats or two hundred [thousand].[31] They also wrote to their kinsmen in Seville, who sent them more money. The English soldiers then released them, and they left like beggars to their land, having escaped from [death's] tooth and claw, happy that they had been spared.

The [English] soldiers and the rest of the fleet came down on the city and began pillaging it. They set fire to the houses and brought them down to the ground, and turned the buildings and palaces into dust and sand and ruins—as if the city had never been. They remained in the city for sixteen days, calling out for any challenger, but the tyrant turned a deaf ear, for the disaster had been dire and catastrophic. After destroying Cadiz in the Sea of Zukak, and in that same year, the fleet of the English sailed to wreak havoc on the coasts of the tyrant, and to destroy his lands and possessions, and to tighten the noose on him and to add to his woes. [The tyrant] was helpless and incapacitated before their assault, immobilized and unable to make any move or put up any defense. The ignominious shame [of his defeat] covered him with disgrace and degradation, and demeaned his stature before rival kings. They now became desirous of his lands and opened their mouths from every side to devour him.

May God help the party of Islam defeat him [Philip II], and may his possessions be prey to the swords of our *mulana*, the Imam.

5

1613–1618: Description of Pisa and Florence, in Lunban fī ʿAhd al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿni al-Thani, *ed. Asad Rustum and Fu’ad Afram al-Bustani, 208–224.*[32]

See the discussion of this text in chapter 2.

We mentioned the sea journey of his highness Prince Fakhr al-Dīn in three galleons. We now want to mention what happened during the sea journey and to describe in detail the wonders he and his companions saw in the lands of the Christians.

We mentioned that his highness sailed in a Flemish ship. During his journey, two corsair galleons from Malta accosted the Flemish galleon. They asked the captain from where he was coming, and he replied that he was traveling from the lands of the East back to his own country. They asked what he had with him, and he replied that he had nothing other than ammunition and bullets. So they left him and went on their way. As for the two French ships that were carrying the prince’s children, Hajj ʿAli al-Dhafiri, Hajj Kiwan, his concubines, and others: the wind separated them from the aforementioned Flemish ship. The Flemish ship continued between the island of Sicily and the West and sailed near the islands of Sardinia and Corsica and arrived safely in the port of Leghorn [Livorno] in the land of the grand duke. The ship cast anchor on a gray day, October 25 [1613]. From the port of Sidon to Leghorn, the journey had taken fifty-three days.

In Leghorn, people approached in a skiff with a small flag showing the insignia of the duke. In it were translators who knew both Arabic and Turkish. They came up to one side of the ship, fearful that it could be carrying the odor of the plague, and they inquired where the ship was coming from and where it was heading and what its merchandise was. The captain gave them the usual answer. They asked about the Muslims on board. So Prince Fakhr al-Dīn told them what had happened to him: that he was seeking shelter among them until God resolved his crisis. He added that his wish was to disembark because there had been problems and complications on board. He and his retinue had used up all their provisions and could not use the provisions that his children carried with them, not knowing where the ship was after it had drifted away. They had asked the captain for some food, but he complained about cost and then gave each of them five cubes of biscuit for seven days, and to all, half a *rotl* of rice. His retinue continued to buy biscuits from the sailors for a quarter of a piaster, and then for half a piaster, and they lived on them until they reached the aforementioned port.

The skiff returned to Leghorn and reported to the governor, who commanded that an answer be given to the prince and that he be permitted to disembark. When the prince was about to get into their skiff, they [translators from Leghorn] told him to get into the Flemish skiff, fearful of the odor of the plague. He did, taking with him of his servants only a slave who had been raised by him, Masrūr Agha. When they reached land, the messengers said that they were ordered to take the prince down alone. So they sent Masrūr Agha and his belongings back to the ship without coming near him. They then entered a house and lit some incense and other herbs that produced smoke and fragrance to prevent the plague. They took away all the clothes that the prince had on him and gave him new clothes. They then sent back with Masrūr Agha to the ship all the belongings of the prince. All this caution was their normal procedure because of fear of the plague.

The governor of the city and some dignitaries arrived and walked in front of the prince toward the house of the duke, who was away in the big city of Florence. The governor was effusive in his welcome, saying: “We want to inform the duke, and we want to know, whether you are truly the son of Maʿn.”

“Yes,” he said.

So they informed the duke, who appointed his chief vizier, called Laurencio, to escort the prince to him. The prince said that his wish was that the rest of his retinue be allowed to disembark. They replied that their custom was to send all who disembarked with their belongings to a house outside the city where they would stay for forty days and where they would not mingle with anyone. Even if someone sells them food or fruit, the vendors leave the merchandise in a place far from them. The buyers then leave the money in a jug of vinegar. But, they continued, we have observed you, and we believe you that there is no plague in your country. For your sake, we shall give your retinue permission to come over. So the retinue joined the prince, who remained worried about the two other ships that had drifted away with his children and Hajj Kiwan.

But by the wisdom of God almighty, they arrived safely in the port of Leghorn and were led to join the prince. When they were asked what had happened to them, they replied that they had met at sea three corsair galleons. The corsairs sent a frigate to inspect them and saw the horse of the prince on board. So they informed the other galleons that there were Muslims on these French ships. They prepared to do battle and sailed up against them. Hajj Kiwan feared that he and the prince's children would be taken captive. But suddenly, the wisdom of God sent a strong wind that pushed the corsairs away. And they did not give chase. They also mentioned that they had passed the straits of Messina and Calabria, and were very sad for being separated from the prince's ship. Now they rejoiced.

Later, the prince, Hajj Kiwan, and some of the retinue departed with the aforementioned vizier of the duke to the city of Pisa, leaving the children and family in Leghorn. Pisa is a spacious, grand city, with a wall and a wide river that cuts through it on which ships and boats sail to Florence. The father of the duke had taken the gulf of Leghorn so that boats would sail on the aforementioned river. In the middle of the city there are three wide bridges as well as the leaning minaret with bells that announce the time and the prayer calls. They call it Maria. The leaning of this minaret is a wonder, because it was deliberately made so by the builders. It is square-shaped, and all four of its walls are made of rows of white and of black marble. If you throw a pebble down from the belfry parallel to the wall, it will be found to have landed fifteen feet away from the wall—thus the leaning of this minaret is fifteen feet. There is nothing wrong with the building at all. They said that in the city of Venice, there is another similarly leaning minaret like the aforementioned.

They left Pisa and arrived at the magnificent residence of the duke [in Omborgiana], surrounded by water and gardens. From there they went to a residence near Florence because the prince wanted to enter it in the evening, during dinnertime. They agreed, and when the prince of Florence, the uncle of the duke [Don Giovanni de'Medici], met the prince and the other dignitaries, the uncle walked with the prince to the coach, for among them, riding a coach is a sign of honor. They drove until they reached the secret entrance of the duke's palace. The palace is a ruler's court and the secret door is new, under which there is a moat with a bridge that is lifted and lowered according to need. They entered the house and walked into a resplendent hall, where they found the duke with his minister, wife, and distinguished dignitaries. They saluted them (and the custom of their salutation is for the lowest in rank to stretch his hand to the ground and then return it to his mouth, while bowing). After they saluted the prince according to their custom, they welcomed him and told the visitors that he would reside in the old palace [Palazzo Vecchio]. Between the old and the new palaces are arches. The road between the two palaces was paved and lined, and the aforementioned arches were above the city houses and the bridge. The length of this road with the arches is two miles. On the road near this road, there are windows with glass panels both on the left and the right to let in light. Between the old palace and the new palace [Palazzo Pitti] there is a wide river that divides the city over which, within city bounds, are three bridges. The aforementioned river [Arno] reaches Pisa and then continues into the sea. The aforementioned city has nine gates and a fortified wall. They said that the rent of each gate is seventy thousand scudi and the scudi is equal to a piaster and a quarter. Most of the city income comes from the gates: a payment of a tithe is made to the governor for everything that is brought into the city to be sold. They mentioned that the warrant for navigation costs three hundred scudi per day. A lot of merchandise arrives by boat in Pisa from the harbor of Leghorn: they load the merchandise on boats sailing to Florence because Leghorn is the port of the duke's lands. They pay custom duties on broadcloth and other cloth, on wineries, shops, and everything that is bought and sold. There is a return on everything. Around the city there is a thick wall. They said that within the wall there are more than a hundred thousand souls.

When his highness Prince Fakhr al-Dīn settled in the old palace, they appointed him cooks and servants who prepared excellent morning and evening meals, both for the time he was traveling as well as in residence. When they learned that the prince would only eat what had been slaughtered by Muslims, they asked that a few of his men be assigned this task. He appointed Hajj Muhammad Qawwas Bashi from among his retinue, and in his absence, Nasīf, to do the slaughtering, the latter being of Sikmani origin. He had been a captive in Malta and was liberated by the prince. During that time fell the feast of Elevation [Ash Wednesday], which precedes their great fast. For this feast, they design various toys, including painted masks that they wear. They also empty the inside of eggs and fill them with rose water, which the elders throw at each other and at women. As for the young, they replace rose water with water, and throw the eggs at each other. They also fasten a shield to a pole and strike at it with a lance from a galloping horse.

They hold the lance from its bottom, since at its top there is a flag. The lance does not have a blade but a piece of lead that leaves a mark on the shield so that the impact can be seen. For them the excellent horse man is the one who hits the center of the shield. He will win the award.

They race horses down a wide alley in the middle of the city, from one end of the city to the other. People stand on the side watching the horse men. Youths from the ages of ten to twenty ride horses without saddle or bridle, holding only a leather whip with which they strike the horse. They plant a banner at the entrance of the alley and whoever succeeds in reaching it first wins—the owners of the racing horses having participated in designating an award. Men also ride headstrong mules, which kick and resist and balk: whoever wins takes the prize. People also ride other small horses, beasts, and mules, laying on their backs the skins of tigers, wolves, and others, just like Gog and Magog. They also race among the people in the nude, with only a loincloth to cover them; again, whoever wins takes the prize as in the horse race. They bring a wild male boar and dig a small pit, which they line with wooden beams, and then dress a man in iron armour, from top to bottom. The man jumps into the pit, holding a dagger in his hand. He wrestles with the boar; if he kills it, they give it to him.

At night, they hold games and dances for men and women inside a large house. They do something to the house so that it looks far away and reddish like the sky, with people walking in that reddishness, as if they were angels. On the floor of the house, they set up an axle that they cover with cloth in the color of the sea. The axle is of wood and it rotates continually under them producing what appear to be sea waves. They sail a boat with a wheel at its bottom that, from above, looks like it is sailing at sea. Around fifteen young men of the best in the city climb into the boat to dance and act. They also make a replica of Florence, and another of Leghorn with its river and bridges; they show beasts of burden that, with a wheel, appear to be walking on the bridges; also shown in the replica of Leghorn are its forts and moat, the sea water as if moving in the moat. They do many other things as well, play games and perform strange and wondrous marvels. Women and men dance together but with their equals, the wife of the duke with the duke, in accordance with the hierarchy of the families. Their custom is not to shelter women from men, neither in dancing nor in alleys, so much so that when a man is absent, the woman stays in his stead in the store to attend to business.

They showed the prince various depositories of rare objects. The doors of these depositories were secured with copper wires and locks, but the objects could be seen without opening the buildings. They have portraits/statues of all Muslim sultans and Arab sheikhs, even a copper replica of the earthly globe and the seven heavens in rotation. They also have paintings of lands and events of the past and of recent times, including the Jews who crucified the one who was like the Christ, dressed in the old garments of the times. They even have pictures of the seven zones with their seas, islands, and cities. They showed the prince the armory, where there were examples of old catapults used in sieges, along with sharpened arrows. There were replicas of instruments used in past sieges, all made of copper so that they would not rust. There was a magnetic stone, stuck on its own to an iron anchor, without any artifice. They also had two cannons stuck to each other, along with a rifle too, two or three, so that if one fails, the other is available.

Of the wonders of this city is the old church [Santa Maria del Fiore], covered with marble on the outside along with statues of the disciples and the apostles, executed with great expense. It has a square minaret, made of colored marble, with a stairwell that reaches to the dome where they strike the bell. There are 450 steps, but their steps are low. The [top of the] dome is made of copper and enameled with gold and can hold ten men. Grander than this is the new church that the father of the duke began building [Santa Maria Novella]. It is smaller but quite beautiful because the walls are covered with colored stones that are delicately carved [mosaics]. Between each stone and another there are copper plates etched with gold. All the flags of the Christian sultans are represented on the walls in colored stone.[33]

And so too is the place where they mint coins near the water. There is a cast on a waterwheel, with the etching of the coinage. Between the two sides of the cast there is empty space, as thick as the coin. They roll out the silver bullion and pour it into the cast as the water cools it. The bullion disappears inside the cast in the same manner that the instrument separating cotton from its seed does. When the bullion is taken out, it is stamped on both sides. They then pour another bullion and so on. They have a spiral cutter that measures the size of the coinage. When the cutter removes the extra silver from the piaster, which falls to the other side, they retrieve these pieces and melt them again. As for gold, they beat it with a hammer. They also beat gunpowder inside urns near the water. The bludgeons are made of wood with a copper head and are activated by the water. There are nine urns and one single man moving the gunpowder under the bludgeons. They said: each quantity of gunpowder is a bit more than a Damascene *qintal*. They extract the gunpowder from the soil they dig up in caves and elsewhere. They soak it in water and pour it into containers that have spigots. They repeat this process many times until the gunpowder is cleaned.

To the east, above the palace of the two sons of the duke, there is a fort [Belvedere] on a hill surrounded by a wall. There is an orchard

[Giardino di Boboli] between the road and the fort full of colorful fruit along with medicinal herbs that are planted there for times of need. The fort is huge, and they said that the duke spent on building it all the wealth in his possession. Only those who have business there are allowed in. They said that in the evening they place a machine so that whoever enters and reaches the inside gate finds the outside gate closing behind him. The man remains imprisoned there between the two doors until he is found the following morning.

Some people said that the duke's daily income was eighty thousand piasters. Others said that was his whole country's income, which belonged to him and to the rest of the people. It was said that his annual income was a million of gold and that his [family's] reign was not that old, only a hundred years, having begun in 900 A.H. [A.D. 1490]. Regarding their origin [the Medicis], they are known as the house of the physician and are of the nobility of the city of Florence up to this day. Their banner has six pleats as is the number of the pills they give as a potion to the weak. Their country is well inhabited, organized, and obedient.

The name *kran duka* means in Arabic the grand prince because in the lands of the Christians there are many principalities. They claimed that this prince was the greatest among them all; all the sultans of the Christians correspond and maintain good relations with him. His reign is hereditary, and neither name nor reign can be taken away. He pays no tribute to any sultan, but leans in his love [*mahabba*] to the sultan of Spain more than to others. Chroniclers have written that he is awe-inspiring and dignified.

We had stated that his highness Prince Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn and Hajj Kiwan left the city of Florence to visit their families in the city of Leghorn, where they incurred heavy expenses in purchasing the supplies they needed.[34] When the duke saw that the prince and Hajj Kiwan were staying with their families, he revoked their food expenses, and gave them every year two thousand piasters where each scudo was equal to one piaster and a quarter of Abu Kalab.[35] He also gave them a coach to use around the city for their business. They continued to buy their own food supplies. He also gave them a house in Florence,[36] his city, and so they left Leghorn [in June 1614] to the aforementioned house, where they stayed for two years. The duke, very willingly and respectfully, continued to give them a payment of two thousand scudi every three months, showing them great respect. Above Florence there is a magnificent and expensive house with orchards and water; and in one spot in a valley there are trees so entangled together with iron bars that, for a hundred cubits, they form something like a tent, connected by iron and copper bars. Everywhere, there are birds that nest, if in trees then in trees, and if on the ground then on the ground, while the water flows under them so they can drink. People also provide them with feed. All the pathways in the orchard are paved with colorful and decorated pebbles under which run iron pipes. If they want to make fun of someone after he enters there, they turn the water on from the pipes, which can reach as high as the man who is walking there.

In this orchard, there are a dome and statues of human beings, each carrying a musical instrument. The statues have water spigots that, when turned on, make each person play the instrument that is in his hands. The reason why they build these places is that they spend with their families and children and servants every three months in a different location. They spend the three winter months on the coast, the three summer months in the mountain, and the three spring months in the middle, a hunting region, and so, too, the three autumn months. They relax there and forget their worries.

Every day they sweep in front of their houses all the way to the middle of the alley and make a small heap of rubbish. Beasts, paid for by the city, collect the rubbish and carry it to be thrown outside the city.

In the city of Florence, there are large chickens brought from Mazoura [Mazara del Vallo?]. The rooster is sold in Florence for three piasters, and the hen and the chick for one to two piasters. They have turkeys that are bigger than the chicken but cheaper. They weighed one turkey without its feathers, and it was thirty-two libras, where each six libras make up one Syrian *rotl* [2.5 kilograms]. There is little cauliflower in their country, and if it is found in bloom, the nobility buy it for half a piaster. Veal is sold for more than goat meat. Cows are extremely plentiful, and all their goats have long fat tails with delicious meat. The bull is scarce and camels not at all. They work the cows [in agriculture] for seven years, after which they fatten and slaughter them, and sell their meat. They have numerous tools and implements for agriculture and tilling, and they pound all their crops with clubs on wooden tables. We bought eighty half bushels of Damascene wheat, which we cleaned by hand and found that, as a result, each lost a quarter of one half bushel.

Every twelve years, they leave the agricultural land fallow. The duke has dug moats in the hills and filled them with water to surround the orchards. He keeps ducks, geese, and rabbits in those hills, along with rabbit-like badgers with underground burrows, producing a litter once a month. The peacock is plentiful among them, the most expensive and the grandest being the white peacock. They have barns in the orchards for the cows, for making cheese, and for growing pigeons. None is allowed to hunt the pigeons, neither with gun nor arrow. Whoever owns land or territory, however full of mountains, timber, grass, or game, none can take anything unless he has the owner's permission and approval.

In Florence and elsewhere, there are hospitals for the sick. Whoever gets sick can, if he wants, go to the hospitals, where he will find physicians and all that he needs. Even if he is one of the poorest of the people, and needs medications for a thousand piasters, they will treat him with no objection, providing him with food and drink, as well as a mattress and covers and people trained to care for patients in all their needs. When the physician declares him cured, they release him without any charge. The poor man pays not a single dirham since all expenses are covered by the hospital's charitable foundations [*awqaf*]. There are also convents with servants and wet nurses for women who give birth but are poor or women who do not want to declare their newborns. If a poor man has a child and he already has many children, he leaves it at this place, where it will be brought up. The monastery has a small marble window that is wide enough for a newborn baby. The woman brings it in its swaddling bands at night and hands it over through this window to people waiting on the inside. When they catch the baby, they hand it over to wet nurses to look after it.

As they grow up, these [orphaned] children are taught reading and handicraft. The boys are kept separate, and when girls reach puberty, they are taken around the city, and any man eager to get married can marry one of them. If the bridegroom-to-be is one who had been raised by the monastery or raised outside, [the abbot and monks] wed him to the girl of his choice. The expense of raising and marrying them is covered by the foundation of the monastery and from the sultan's treasury because the custom is for the woman to give men money [in dowry], each according to her means and status. There are convents for the daughters of the nobility as well as convents for the daughters of the commoners who send their daughters to become nuns. Similarly, there are monasteries for boys and men. The expenses incurred by those who enter those monasteries are covered by the monastery foundation, while children of the nobility receive money from their parents. There are also monasteries for men called Capuchins who wear neither shirt nor cloth except what is made of wool—on their naked flesh. They shave a circle at the top of their heads, which looks like a crown similar to the thorns that the Jews put on the head of the Christ on the day of his crucifixion, as they claim. These people do not touch silver or gold, nor do they ride horses or other animals. Their monasteries have foundations, and their livelihood is from the people, one day at a time.

There are places like agencies, which are well protected, called "The Bank." Paid guards protect it and walk around it at night. Whoever has extra money and does not intend to trade with it, or money belonging to a son who is unable to trade, hands the money to the employees of the bank, who give him a written receipt. These employees at the bank are guaranteed by the city nobility so that none can take money from their hands. Anyone who wants can go and borrow money from the bank, taking with him a collateral of jewelry and other objects. He hands over the jewelry and the objects to the employees, who price them, subtracting one-third of their value. They then write on the deposited object its owner's name and its value, and lock it in boxes sealed with multiple locks. They give him the receipt to take back to the bank employee, which he does. They read the receipt and give him whatever sum is stated on it, while keeping the receipt with them for later accounting among themselves in order to monitor the customers. Some people take the deposit and give him the receipt, and others take the receipt and give him money—all being employees of the bank. Their custom is to charge seven piasters [of interest] on every hundred piasters per year, five piasters for the moneylender and two piasters for the bank employees. If the deposit remains for one or two months, more or less, and the owner wants to reclaim it, they calculate the interest based on the number of months and the one hundred and seven piasters/year. If three years pass, and the owner does not return to claim his deposit, they sell it, taking one-third of the value of the sale in lieu of the interest. If the deposit was worth a hundred and fifty [piasters] and they had not paid the owner more than a hundred, then if the owner does not reclaim it, they get one-third in lieu of the interest.

In the lands of the Christians, they do not count the trees nor divide the crops. In some regions, they lease the land and take payment in either money or crops. In others, the governors have representatives at the mills: if people come for grinding, they pay the usual to the sultan and the usual to the city, for the city designates an income for itself. They measure whatever is sold of crops, like wine or other products, and take their due. The city income is overseen by accountants and calculators and is spent on the construction of statues, roads, bridges, plazas, alleys, and the like in the city and in the rest of the country. Whatever is left is kept in the treasury so that if there is an exigency or a siege, or if soldiers are called to arms, they spend it on them as is needed. All the lands of the Christians do the same. In some of these lands, wheat is taken from the mill in specific measures, and if one buys wheat from a farmer, the governor taxes him the appropriate sum, which sum is given in part to the governor's tax collector and the other to the city. Renting mills is common among them. Each mill has a pulley that lifts the wheat sack above the beast of burden. The beast then moves up under the hanging sack, whereupon the pulley is released and the sack tirelessly lands on the back of the animal. They also collect taxes on crops and others, as well as on cloth, broadcloth, shops, wineries, and all sales and purchases, even fish. They take the regular tax on everything.

As for punishment of malefactors in their country, they do not alter it. For each crime there is a specific punishment: execution, imprisonment, or the galleys. The punishment is for a specific number of years, written down, which cannot be changed by either money or intercession. They give the malefactor a paper stating the duration of his punishment, and when the period is over, he is released, but not a day before or after. Some punishments consist of forty years in the galleys, or a lifetime, or more or less, depending on the crime. Even if the crime is minor, it is instituted that the perpetrator not leave his house for a specific number of months.

One of the customs in the land is that none can carry weapons unless he has a written permit from the governor. This applies to subjects and city residents who may want to carry weapons. As for the soldier, if he carries a weapon, there is nothing against that. Also, one of their customs is that if a leader marches against a region, or if a strongman enters the country of his enemy, none of his soldiers can stretch their hands against the subjects of the enemy, not even to take a bird, chicken, or egg, without paying for it. Nor do they destroy the land, for the inhabitants will come to buy and sell to the soldiers. If war breaks out between two armies, and one is defeated and shelters in a castle or is besieged in a city, and if the outside army grows stronger than the inside one, the latter sues for peace on terms that will not be changed or altered. And if there is surrender or agreement, the country remains as prosperous as it had been; and if the insider is strong and the outsider is unable to score a victory and thus raises the siege and leaves, the ruler returns to his country, where he finds everything as prosperous as it had been. All this derives from their customs of old, and none can change anything in them. They have numerous customs that shape and organize their country, and books that provide rules by which both the government and the governor abide.

In their lands, they print books in their own language as well as in Arabic.[37] Printing uses square types, and each letter is at the top of the type. Each letter fits into many types. They make a wooden board with a frame in the same length as the type in which the letters are set. If they want to make a book, they arrange the letters to form a page of the writing in that book. The cost for typesetting each page is one *shahiya*.[38] Once they are finished laying out the page that they intend to print, they pour ink on it from a jug. Above the typeset is a wooden slat with a coil spring. They roll a piece of white paper of the same size as the typeset page, and when they press the slat with the coil, the letters are printed on the paper on which they had been pressed. Then they remove the paper and put another, and so on, putting papers and pressing them until they are printed. If they want a thousand books, they print a thousand papers, and when they finish printing the number of books that they want, they change the typeset and arrange the letters to form another page, and so on until the book that they want to print is finished. They then add a binding to each book and put it on sale. Because of this [technology], books are cheap in their country. The medical *Canons* of Ibn Sina, in leather binding, is sold for seven or eight piasters.[39] People think that each page has a mold, but actually each letter is used in different molds so that when they need a letter, they put it in the line where it is needed and so on. The letters are the same as in the alphabet, aleph, ba, ta, tha, till the end.

In their lands, they grow flax and so too in all the lands of the Christians. They manufacture cloth for shirts, threads, and expensive textile. They make collars the price of each cubit of which is a piaster and more. They wash the cloth in cinder and sew it with flax because if they use silk, the cinder will ruin it. Everything is washed in cinder—shirts, trousers, bedsheets, and handkerchiefs—after which they are put in large containers with spigots. They boil the cinder in the water and pour it on the clothes until they are soaked, after which they are kept for the night. Then they drain the water through the spigots and heat the water again and pour it on the clothes for the second time; and if need be, a third time, until the water cleans everything, leaving neither dirt nor stain. When they take the clothes out, they put each item in water with two bars of soap and rinse it in a light wash. Then they spread it to dry, and when they fold it, they add yellow flowers of some herbs, known as lavender. The washed clothes are clean, smell beautifully, and are very white, all at little expense. All the cinder produced in their country is sold by wandering vendors. They make of cinder and frying oil a red soap that is like starched *halawa* [confectionary], which peddlers sell in buckets. To sell it, they take it out with a ladle. If after the wash, some of it [*halawa*] remains, they remove it from their fingers and wipe it on the clothes. If they rub it on the clothes, it produces a foam like that produced by cubed soap. It cleans clothes without any extra expense.

The roads in their lands are clean, and lead in all directions. Men receiving regular pay oversee the roads to ensure that carriages can always travel. At the beginning of every road in the land, the governor appoints soldiers who live in houses and guard the roads night and day. There are two poles at the beginning of the road with an iron chain tied between them. At night they stretch the chain so that animals do not cross without the knowledge of the soldiers. Anyone who crosses without a sealed permit from the governor of the city is apprehended. They raise a hue and a cry whenever they see anyone sneaking past the road. They apprehend him, saying that had you not been guilty of some crime, you would not have avoided the road. None can sneak into someone else's orchard without permission.

They hunt in numerous ways. They have large dogs. A man holds by the leash two dogs at one end of the thicket, and another does the same at the other end. When the boar or the deer with crooked horns darts out, they unleash the two dogs. If the dogs do not reach it, they unleash the other two dogs, and together the dogs bring down the biggest animal, boar or other. They hold the prey down until the men arrive and strike it down with a sword; it is not their custom to shoot the animal with a gun. They also hunt rabbits with their hunting dogs. The governor or someone else hires between twenty and thirty men, each receiving a *shahiya* in payment. They come each with a long stick and form a line together. The men start thrashing left and right. On each side of the line, there is a man on a horse with two dogs, along with other men who are spread farther away. When the rabbit runs, they unleash the two dogs from the side of the line nearest to it. If the rabbit outruns the dogs, they unleash the two dogs from the other end of the line. They do not release more than four dogs.

They also hunt birds. They hunt partridge, pheasant, and duck. They hunt duck in rivers: from boats, they shoot flying ducks with small shot. Ducks in large lakes they hunt with *zarbatan* [projectile tube], while from their coaches they hunt duck with small shot. They hunt birds at night too, using a lantern that is special for that purpose. They strike them with the arc of the gun, and at night the strike is softer than in the daytime, in order not to damage the bird. If the bird falls in the shrubs, they send their small hunting dogs to sniff it out and bring it back in their mouths to their owner. There is abundance of quail, magpie, and other small birds. If they want to hunt these small birds, they harvest a field, leaving one spot unharvested. They wait for the birds to shelter there, after which they cast their nets on the birds. They have special nets made for bird hunting. There are specific locations in the thicket where they dig four holes and place the nets between them. Then they frighten the birds from the thicket and catch them as they get entangled in the nets. Similarly at the time of harvesting olives: they harvest all the trees, leaving one unharvested. They spread a net on top of the olive tree, leaving an open aperture, and tie it at the bottom to the trunk. When the bird gets inside the net, it does not remember how to get out and remains trapped inside.

They do not harvest olives by beating the trees down with sticks. Rather, a man climbs a ladder with a pair of scissors with which he snips the olives. They keep birds of various kinds in cages so that they will attract their like. They cover the area around the cages with glue and some feathers, and then lurk in the trees. As for fishing, they are able to capture quite a variety. They sail out into the sea and stretch their nets between the prow and the stern, and sail, turning their nets into a scoop. That is how they catch fish at sea. Among them, each kind of fish has a price. They color the nets, some of which are small, and make some from silk because silk is firmer. They tie hooks to ropes and stretch them from one bank of a river to the other, lowering a large number of hooks. They also tie scoops to ropes, and people pull them from the land as well as from two boats in the sea. They said that the cost of the scoop and the two boats was four hundred scudi, which are equivalent to five hundred lionine Abu Kalab piasters. The ropes of the scoop are two miles long, and sometimes they fetch in many *quintals* of fish. None can sell the fish before giving the governor what is agreed upon. There is among them obedience and order in all matters.

In Leghorn, there is a harbor behind the walls into which galleys, ships, and boats can sail. Near the harbor, they have erected three walls, and on the side facing the sea, they lay very thinly woven nets. Seawater pushes through the nets, leaving a huge number of fish unable to swim back into the sea because the nets are like hairy wires. They do so in order to have fish whenever they want. The aforementioned harbor has an iron chain extending between the wall and the fort, which they lock up at night. The [city] owns boats to dredge the harbor. The boats have a coil spring that is lowered to the sea bottom. When they release it, it opens, having fingers gridded together. As they [fingers] descend, they open, and when they shut, they grip and hold all that they have collected. The [people] rotate the fingers toward another boat, where they release the coil spring, whereupon everything that had been collected and raised from the sea bottom falls. They repeat this action twice and thrice. When the boat is filled with muck, sand, rubbish, and other stuff, they bring in another boat, and empty the first in the sea, in order to keep the harbor navigable and unblocked. In Florence, too, there are lakes with fish. In winter, the lakes freeze over, and so they cut the ice with iron tools and store it in a grove underground to sell during summer. They place ripe watermelons on this ice and sell them more expensively than others.

In Leghorn, there is a prison for captives [*asara*].[40] It consists of four long, vaulted buildings with a high open space in the middle. In the center, there is a post to which the captive is tied and beaten if he errs. There are rooms on the upper level for the guards with entrances different from those for the captives. There are small windows in the floor through which the cells can be seen so that when the captives move, the guards are alerted. The gate to the cells is locked from the side of the guards so that the captives can neither open nor shut it. There are captains and wardens [*wardiyanat* from the Italian *guardiano*?] who give out passes to the captives to go and attend to the needs and possessions of the governor, and in the evening, collect them. There are wooden layers inside the cells. They said that in the cells there are more than three thousand Muslims as well as Christian criminals. They have six galleys, and when they want to sail out but are short [of men], they use some of the captives. All those inside the cells defecate in barrels that have covers. The captives lift the barrels and empty them outside the wall. They said that they are paid for their feces a thousand piasters a year. If one of the captives escapes, they take his price from the warden.

When the galleys leave to corsair [used as a verb in Arabic], they take with them only those men who are fit. For supplies, they take water, biscuit, and food. They also take one coat for the captive and one military outfit, in order to reduce the weight. The captains of the galleys position six captives on each oar, from the stern to the main mast, and six captives from the mast to the prow. Their armor and helmets cannot be penetrated by bullets. The armor covers them down to their waists and is in one piece, like the breast of a goose in the front. They also carry shields.

One of the customs of the land is for the governor to impress soldiers from his country who are not foreigners. [He] hires people to train them in shooting and using weapons. They continue in that training for two to three years until they complete it. Then they return to their usual occupations, and new recruits are brought from the country. Like the others, they are taught to shoot and use guns. The cycle continues until all the people of the country have learned how to use weapons.

In Florence, country of the grand duke, each *quintar* of wood is sold for a piaster. Firewood is sold by the cubit, which they call *qana*, which is six cubits in length and two in width. Each kind of firewood has a different price, and the best is oak along with *zand,* both of which are of the same value. Poultry is sold by weight.

When Prince Fakhr al-Dīn was in Florence with the duke, governor of Tuscana, letters arrived from the pasha of Messina who is under the sultan of Spain. The letter that came to the grand duke from the sultan of Spain ordered him to ask Prince Fakhr al-Dīn to be sent to Messina. The grand duke sent his messengers to the prince and informed him that the sultan of Spain has ordered that you go to the pasha of Messina. “How do you feel about this?” He replied: “If you order us we shall go.” So they said: “You will not incur any expenses in travel or residence. Our ships are sailing to Messina, and so if you are willing, we will send you on them.” He agreed, and the grand duke wrote letters to the pasha of Messina telling him to look after the prince. He also gave him gold chains, known among them as *janzīr,* worth eight hundred piasters. But Hajj Kiwan did not want to travel with the prince and stayed in Florience. The prince bade farewell to the duke's mother and sailed on the ships to Leghorn. He was offered all that was needed until Messina was reached. When he and his retinue landed, they saw that it was a great city where ships reach very near the shore. The inhabitants lay wooden planks from land to the ship for disembarkation and unloading of merchandise. The prince informed the pasha of Messina of his arrival, and was offered a house near the harbor overlooking the sea and the city park. He sent down his children and possessions and went to greet the duke. The latter welcomed him and was hospitable, offering him ten piasters per diem for food. It so happened that a feast was celebrated that time, when they set up stores near the harbor and under the house where the prince was living. There was much buying and selling, especially silk, and so many other things that they cannot be described.

The prince was eager to learn the news of his country, and asked that he visit his country to learn about the condition of his family, followers, and the rest of the country. He told the duke, who replied that their ships were preparing to sail east to carry out their corsairing, as was their habit. "We will tell them to take you along to your country. Take some of your retinue with you. The others can stay with your children among us, in full dignity, until you return." The prince agreed, and so the duke gave him all that he needed of supplies. And they sailed in three ships.

6

1623: EXPULSION OF THE MORISCOS AND THE MIRACULOUS RANSOMING OF MUSLIM CAPTIVES, IN AL-MUNTASIR IBN ABI LIHYA AL-QAFSI, NŪR AL-ARMASH FĪ MANAQIB AL-QASHASH, *ED. LUTFI ʿISA AND HUSAYN BUJARRAH, 138–141, 151–154.*

What is known about al-Muntasir derives from the book he wrote, Nūr al-Armash*. He was from Qafsa, in Tunisia, and his mother was the sister of a leading Sufi who oversaw the lodge there. Al-Muntasir became the friend and disciple of Abu al-Ghaith al-Qashash, a leading Sufi master, and established a lodge that followed his teachings. He visited Tunis frequently, trading in wool, dates, and other products of his region. Nothing is known of his political views except that he was jailed for two months by Murad Bey. He wrote his book in admiration of and gratitude to his master, who died in February 1621. Although he was warned that writing a book about the miracles of al-Qashash was like writing about the waves of the sea, al-Muntasir began writing* Nūr al-Armash *in December 1622 and finished it a month later, in January 1623.*[41]

Al-Qashash was widely revered, and his fame reached Spain at the time of the expulsion under Philip III. He was known to help the exiles who wrote in his praise. Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raīʿ al-Andalusi recalled how God had blessed him and his family and extricated them from the hands of the infidels in 1013/1604. With a group of people who also wanted to leave, they sailed to Tunis to be in the presence of al-Qashash.[42] *Toward the end of the century, the Tunisian historian Ibn Abi Dinar also praised al-Qashash for his charity and his ransoming of captives in his book,* al-Mu'nis fī Akhbar Ifriqiyah wa-Tunis.

The text presents one of the rare descriptions of the Andalusians after their expulsion from Spain and their settlement in Tunis (and other parts of North Africa). The book also presents a spectrum of the barakat/*miracles of the Sufi master, especially his ransoming of captives from Christendom.*

The mendicant slave of God, al-Muntasir, said:

When the Andalusians came to Tunis, I was visiting the city. One day, as I was leaving from the eastern door of the Zaytūni Mosque, I met the elders and sages of the Andalusians. They held a paper and were looking for someone to read it for them. Having accidentally found me, they asked me:

"Can you read the handwriting of Sīdi Sheikh Abu al-Ghaith?"

I answered: "Yes." So they showed me a paper written in green [ink], saying:

"Praise and peace and mercy on the Prophet of God. To our Andalusian elders, *sīdi* so-and-so and *sīdi* so-and-so, until he named ten of their elders. Peace be upon you and God's mercy and bounties: hence, only good can be added to the praise of God's munificence, and whatever comfort you will receive is from the goodness I wish you. You had asked me to seek God's will for you, and so I first asked my father, and on the second night my master, Sīdi Muhammad Hadhifa, friend of the Prophet of God, and on the third night my father. I have met with positive response, for Mahdiyya is derived from *al-huda*/guidance. And you, as the poet has said:

Every region you inhabit will prosper, as if you were rain on the
earth
People look at you and admire you, as if you were the eyes of
those people
If a caravan reaches your land, the [travelers] think themselves
among perfumers
May God never deprive me of your beauty, you who are always
remembered in the heart and the mind.

The peace and mercy and bounties of God on you, from the impoverished slave, Abu al-Ghaith."

They took the paper from my hand and walked away contented, having found the words of the sheikh, God be pleased with him, propitious.

When the Andalusians came to Tunis, they were crowded into the roads and souks, the mosques and countryside, the stores and shops. They went to the sheikh [Abu al-Ghaith] seeking food at his table. The sheikh, God be pleased with him, was like a [gentle] wind sent to them, providing food and handing clothes to the naked. I counted the amount of food that was sent to them by him: 1,200 loaves of wheat bread, two *cafizes* of finely ground flour for couscous, some dry and some to be cooked in a stew, and two loads of carob, along with milk and meat—two cows every day. For a whole year, the sheikh, God be pleased with him, hosted them in this manner—offering them three meals a day. He also served one meal to those in schools and prisons from the hour of the afternoon prayer until just before the evening prayer; another he served to visitors and to the poor and destitute from the hour of the evening prayer until the hour of the last dinner [prayer]; and a third after the last dinner [prayer] and later to the guest who is returning at night, to the alley poor and destitute who sleep in the open, and to the residents of the lodges. His food was ever flowing and his table ever welcoming, and none was denied hospitality, God be pleased with him. He also offered a meal in the daytime before noon, and every day he sent from eight hundred to one thousand loaves of bread to prisoners—as he always did—and to students in schools, to visitors in the lodges, and to the poor in the alleys. These were his *barakat*/blessings, God be pleased with him.

He, God be pleased with him, used to help and assist even those who hurt him, like the pasha, the beys, and the deys, and the dignitaries of Tunis. He said:

"Had I not been charitable to them, who would recognize me for the impoverished slave that I am, I, Abu al-Ghaith al-Qashash!" Thus his humility, God be pleased with him.

As the Andalusians grew more numerous in Tunis, they settled in its surrounding neighborhoods, populated the island, increased the number of villages, and augmented their wealth and agricultural lands. They then started coming from every town to visit Sīdi Sheikh Abu al-Ghaith, God be pleased with him. He instructed them to form themselves into communities, and to each community he assigned a headman who was the sheikh of the poor. He gave to each sheikh a green flag and told him to obey God almighty and to obey the headman who is the foremost among them. He said:

"O you the poor, God, God is in your religion. Always strive to repeat the name of God and to obey your headman, and always be brothers to each other.”

The Andalusians obeyed the sheikh, God be pleased with him. They listened to his words, and obeyed his commands. He [Abu al-Ghaith], in turn, was good to them, God be pleased with him: he consoled them, wrote to them, listened to them, and helped them in everything they needed.

The closest Andalusian to him was Sīdi Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ al-Andalusi, God be pleased with him.

When the Andalusian communities grew in number, a wicked man arose whose name was ʿAli Thabit,[43] may God neither guide nor reward him. He said to the Turks:

“This Abu al-Ghaith has turned the Andalusians who were poor into factions and parties; he must be plotting something.”

But nobody listened to him. So he wrote a letter in which he said: “To all the victorious members of the *diwan* in Tunis. Henceforth: Do you know anything about Abu al-Ghaith al-Qashash? He has turned the Andalusians into factions in every city, and he intends to rise in rebellion against you. He will fight you with iron until he annihilates you all.” At night, he threw the letter in the hall of the *diwan*. The Turks found the letter and read it, fully understanding what was in it. They said:

“Bring it to the attention of the leader, Yusuf Dey [reg. 1610–1637],” who was also the head of the diwan.

When they presented the letter to him, he read it and said:

“Bring me two honest witnesses.”

Upon being brought the witnesses, he asked:

“Do you know the handwriting in this letter? Who wrote it?”

They answered: “We do not.”

He said: “You the dignitaries of the *diwan* and leaders of the militia, some of you have three or ten country estates. But is there one among you who has built a mosque, or given clothing to the poor, or offered water to the thirsty, or ransomed a captive from the land of the Christians, or effected his freedom?”

They said: “No.”

He continued: “God has given Sīdi al-Sheikh Abu al-Ghaith blessing and fortune with which he ransoms the captive and feeds the poor and hungry and restores ruined mosques. He helps all those whom you cannot help. And still you take the opinion of this wicked man who forged this letter! I know who wrote it because he is envious of the sheikh. So do not say anything to me [about the sheikh]. I will not listen to a single word.” And then he tore up the letter.

The mendicant slave of God, al-Muntasir, said:

I was told by someone I trusted [the following story]. A captive Sharīf [descended from the family of the Prophet] came from the land of the Christians, along with his ransomer, a Christian, to Tunis. The captive went to Sīdi al-Sheikh Abu al-Ghaith al-Qashash, God be pleased with him, who asked, after saluting him: "How much is the ransom of the captive?"

The captive answered: "Sīdi, it is three hundred gold Sultanic [dinars]."

The sheikh said: "You are a Sharīf, and I will not pay your ransom except in Sharīfian [dinars]. But, in the name of God, come back tomorrow."

So he left and returned on the following day. He entered and spoke to him, but the sheikh said: "Until tomorrow."

The sheikh kept on procrastinating for three or four days. And this was his custom: whoever sought him for a service or a ransom or a visit, he delayed him for four days, sometimes more, up to ten, until he verified whether the visitor wanted to see him or to have his wish realized: if the former, then his belief [in the sheikh] would be strengthened; if the latter, it would be weakened, and he would be cut off from the sheikh. After the sheikh had delayed the captive Sharīf, the Christian ransomer said: "This sheikh to whom we have come for your ransom is not giving you any money. If this is the case, tomorrow we shall return to the land of the Christians."

So along with the Christian, the Sharīf went to the sheikh and said: "Sīdi, the Christian has said that we will return to the land of the Christians because this sheikh will not save you."

The sheikh, God be pleased with him, replied: "Tomorrow we shall save you."

The Sharīf repeated to the Christian what the sheikh had said. So the Christian spoke to the Sharīf in Spanish, which made the face of the Sharīf fall in fear of the Christian. The sheikh looked at him and said: "What is the matter, Sharīf?"

The Sharīf answered: "Nothing, *sīdi*."

He said: "By God, if you do not tell me what the Christian said, I will turn your face yellow."

The Sharīf looked at the floor, ashamed before the sheikh, and said: "*Sīdi*, the Christian told me in Spanish that if this charlatan to whom you brought me to ransom you had three hundred Sharīfian dinars, he would not have kept you here for days. Cannot you see he is wearing a shabby woolen garment and a cheap head cover?"

He continued: when the sheikh, God be pleased with him, heard what the Sharīf said, his face and eyes turned red. Then he laughed so much that his teeth showed, and he swayed until he nearly fell to the floor. He then entered into a [mystical] state and called on his followers saying: “Fetch me two honest witnesses.”

He said: “We brought him Sīdi Sais Nuwayna, and he was one of the [Sufi] followers of the sheikh, and another witness. Inside the shoe of the sheikh there was a Malaccan moneybag, small and empty. There was also a small leather *salīfa*, in which two fingers can barely be inserted. As we looked, the sheikh shook it out and pushed it into the moneybag and put it under his knee. The Christian was looking too. Then the sheikh turned to the witnesses and said: “Take a piece of paper and write the ransom note for the captive Sharīf.”

When the witness took the paper and was about to write, the Christian said to him: “Only after I receive the money.”

The sheikh asked: “What did the Christian say?”

The Sharīf answered: “He said, do not write until I receive the money.”

The sheikh said: “Write, he will be saved, almighty God willing.” When the witness was about to write, the Christian said: “Not until I receive my money.” He repeated his words two and then three times.

Sīdi Sasi Nuniyya said:[44] “Come, Spaniard, let us write in the name of God the merciful the compassionate and everything will be done, God willing.” They wrote the ransom note and signed it on paper, whereupon the sheikh took the paper from the hands of the witnesses, read it, and then placed it to his right and to his left. He entered into a wondrous [mystical] state, and then pulled the purse from the moneybag and inserted his two fingers, his thumb and his middle finger, and he started pulling out Sharīfian gold dinars, all new. He counted a hundred and then another, until he reached three hundred of the Sharīfian dinars. Then he shook out the *salīfa*, and there was nothing in it. He said: “Praise God.”

[The narrator] said: “We said, God be praised, *sīdi*.” The sheikh said: “Truly my children, this is of God’s might.”

When the Christian saw what the sheikh had done, he said to the Sharīf: “Tell this *babbas* of yours, had I not had wife and children in the land of the Christians, I would not have gone back but would have stayed to serve you until death. But tell him: *Sīdi*, give me two hundred dinars, the third hundred I return to you as an act of charity for God almighty.”

The sheikh replied: “May you die believing in God’s most cherished religion.” So the Christian left a hundred sultanic Sharīfian dinars for the sheikh and left.

The sheikh said: “This hundred was given to serve God. Clothe this Sharīf.”

The one who told me this story continued: we went to the marketplace and bought with the hundred sultanic gold dinars a wonderful *malaff*/gown of good quality made of silk and linen. We packed it in a pouch and returned to the sheikh, who said:

“Give this bounty to the Sharīf.” So we gave them to him, and he left happy and contented. Praised be God, Lord of the Universe.

My father, God rest his soul, told me: “I went to Tunis in order to trade.” My father did a lot of business traveling in his youth. He said: “After I finished buying and selling, and I was about to return to my region of Qafsa, I said, let us go and visit Sīdi Abu al-Qhaith al-Qashash, God be pleased with him. So I asked permission to enter, which he gave me. I walked in, saluted him, and he saluted me back. He was pleased with me, and I spent an hour with him. The sheikh was writing letters and talismans for all who requested them. Near him was a moneybag, which, as I watched him, he lifted and emptied out. There was nothing in it. I had offered him four coins,[45] which he had counted and put inside the moneybag. There had been nothing else inside. All this happened after the dusk prayer. Then a mendicant entered and said: “We need to pay the laborers.”

He asked: “How many men?”

He answered: “One hundred and fifty.”

So he said: “Here are four coins.” The poor man started paying each man his wages, until he paid all one hundred and fifty.

The sheikh then asked him: “Is there still any laborer who has not been paid? Give him his wages.”

The mendicant replied: “All the laborers have been paid.”

The sheikh said: “Praise be to God.” The sheikh then took the moneybag and gave it to him, and it had just the four coins that I had given him, which he counted.

He said: “Believe you mendicants that God blesses.”

We said: “May God bless, *sīdi*.” This is one of his *barakat*, God be pleased with him.

I was told by someone I trusted. He said: I heard from sīdi al-Sheikh Abu al-Ghaith al-Qashash, God be pleased with him, the following: “O mendicants, when a man comes to visit me, God tells me whether he is honest or not, pure or not, and in what state [of the Sufi path] he is. I say, that is a secret that God has kept, and I will not divulge it. I will keep the secret of him whom God is protecting.”

Two men said to each other. “The sheikh liberates captives, and ransoms them with what money God has given him. Let us claim that one of us is a captive and the other his ransomer, and the sheikh will give us enough money to live on.”

The friend said: “What a good idea.”

So they went to the sheikh and kissed his hand.

He asked: “What has befallen you?”

After they sat in front of him, one of them said: “I was a captive, and this man ransomed me on condition that I pay him back the money he spent."

So the sheikh turned to the ransomer: "Are you his ransomer?" He answered: "Yes, *sīdi*." The sheikh said: "How much was needed for his ransom and how much did you pay?" He answered: "Three hundred dinars." The sheikh lifted the edge of his carpet and counted the amount they had requested. When they got the money in their hands and were about to leave the sheikh, he said: "You will both be enslaved, almighty God willing." So they returned to the sheikh, saying: "We repent to God. We have not been captured nor ransomed." The sheikh replied, God be pleased with him: "I hope to God almighty that you will be enslaved. Get out." They stayed for a few days and then left Tunis. They took a ship intending to sail by sea to a nearby location, but were captured by Christians and enslaved. This is his blessing/ *baraka*, God be pleased with him.

Sīdi al-Sheikh Abu al-Ghaith, God be pleased with him, used to ransom every captive who sought him with the money that God had given him. He would then clothe him with breeches, mantle, and headgear. He would also feed him and let him stay in his lodge until he returned to his family. This is one of his many good deeds, God be pleased with him. They are many, innumerable, God be pleased with him, for he is a man who fears God almighty.

One year, I went to visit Sīdi al-Sheikh Abu al-Ghaith al-Qashash, God be pleased with him. I met there a man by the name of Muhammad al-Mustaghanimi, from Algiers. When I inquired about him, I was told he had been a captive. We started talking and after we became friendly, I asked him: "How did you get away from the sea and the land of the Christians?"

He replied: "Sīdi al-Muntasir: I was taken captive with my mother in Oran [occupied by Spain in 1509]. We stayed in their [Spanish] hands for some time. Then they asked us for a ransom. My mother and I were to be ransomed for three thousand dinars. So I paid them one hundred and fifty dinars, and left my mother a captive in their hands, and I came to the sheikh seeking his help with the other one hundred and fifty that I had not been able to pay. I wrote the sheikh a contract promising to pay him back. So he sent his servant saying: 'Where is the ransomer? Give him the money or give him a letter of credit for the sum.' I said: 'I left my mother a hostage among the Christians until I returned with the rest of the money.' He fell silent and did not say a word. '*Sīdi*, write me a letter in your own hand that I can send to him; perhaps by the blessing of your hand, he will give me an answer.' So I did what he asked me, and we sent the letter with the servant at night. The sheikh did not send us his reply for days.

"This was the sheikh's custom: when he received a letter, he did not reply for days. So, a few days later, he sent his answer with the servant. He said to him [captive]: ‘Did I not ask you where the ransomer was so I could pay the money?’ And he said nothing more. So I returned to Qafsa my home and left the captive living in the lodge, which he swept daily. In the following year, I found him still there, now baking bread for meals. When I asked him about his condition, he replied: ‘Sīdi al-Muntasir. I have implored the sheikh to have pity on me and my mother.’ And he wept. So I wrote him another letter that he sent to the sheikh. But he did not receive an answer. So I returned to Qafsa. Later, I inquired about him, and they said: ‘The sheikh sent ransomers to the lands of the Christians who freed his mother. She returned to Tunis, and then the captive went with her to their own country.’”

This is one of the good deeds of the sheikh, God be pleased with him.

I traveled in the year in which Hamamat was taken by the Christians [1602]. They took all its people captive. The sheikh ransomed them with eighteen thousand dinars. I heard from the mouth of Sīdi Abu al-Ghaith: “I still need to pay four hundred dinars for the ransom of the people of Hamamat.”

He ransomed many other captives, too many to be counted by me or anyone else. He says: “All is from God almighty.” God be pleased with him.

7

1633–1635: Letters from Tunis by Osman/Thomas d'Arcos, a Convert to Islam, Les Correspondants de Peiresc: Lettres inédites Publiées et Annotées, *ed. Philippe Tamizey de Larroque, 2:23–28, 36–39. French original.*[46]

Thomas d'Arcos was born in 1568 in Ciotat, France. He moved to Paris as a youth and worked as secretary to Cardinal Joyeux. He later left him to go to Provence to continue his education. He traveled widely in order to learn about the populations of North Africa and was captured by Tunisian pirates sometime in 1628 near the coast of Sardinia. He remained in captivity for two years, after which he was released and converted to Islam. He changed his name to Osman and lived the rest of his life in Tunis. It is not clear how extensive was his knowledge of Arabic and Turkish, as the surviving letters by him were all written in French.

His French correspondents did not like to believe that d'Arcos had actually converted, preferring to believe that he had merely changed his clothes, not his faith.[47] *D'Arcos encouraged such thinking, hoping that the "changement de mon habit ne luy [Peiresc, his correspondent] ayt fait changer son affection et bienveillance envers moy."*[48] *D'Arcos exchanged letters with Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), the first written on March 15, 1631, and the last in 1637. The correspondence is significant because it reveals how a convert to Islam did not become a pariah shunned by his former national and religious community. Initially, Cardinal Peiresc was horrified at d'Arcos's conversion and found it scandalous; but then he grew to accept it—or at least to feel that he could ignore it—and d'Arcos became his steady correspondent. By so doing, the convert to Islam maintained his "identity [as a scholar and researcher] in European correspondence networks," as Jane Tolbert has noted. Despite committing the most heinous of early modern crimes, he was able to correspond with one of the most important figures in the French republic of letters, and, at the same time, presumably join his coreligionists in the Zaytūni Mosque in Tunis for Friday prayers. He became quite familiar with the Tunisian scene: in a letter of January 30, 1634, he mentioned how the "affairs of the country never change and novelty, as we know it, is in short supply." Curiously, he added that "nos corsairs ne font rien," showing how much he had grown to identify with nos/our Tunisian society.*[49] *Meanwhile, Peiresc was interested in the scientific information that d'Arcos could convey to him from North Africa, along with all the exotic objects and animals, the Punic and*

Roman coins, the local books and the trictrac (which d'Arcos called "tablier") that he could send. In return, d'Arcos asked for French products—"le baril de capres, les douze boettes de prunes de Brignolles, les deux bastes de raisins de Damas, et bientost j'espere aussi recevoir la canavette de Muscat."[50]

The two letters below reveal the extent of d'Arcos's integration into his new society as well as his continued belonging to the old. Although he did not write in Arabic, he provides a rare window on the conditions of European converts to Islam—of whom there were thousands but none who left a record of their lives as converts. While there are accounts in the early modern period by men who converted and then reneged on their conversion and returned to their countries to die as Christians, d'Arcos is the only writer who died as a Muslim, having written about himself and his new, and quite interesting, experience. He was able to continue and develop all the intellectual interests that he had in France: he worked on music, archaeology, paleography, and climatology and often wrote back to Peiresc about his findings. Although he cherished his old religion and culture of Christianity, he preferred to live and die in the new religion of Islam.

I

[June 30, 1633]
To Sir Peiresc, consultant of the King in the parlement of Provence, in Aix. Sir,

I confess feeling deeply hurt by your long silence, and have attributed its cause to my sins, which are not as grave as to make me hope for forgiveness from God and mankind. The excision [circumcision] has not taken anything from me, and the first sacrament of salvation that the Church gave me will never be erased from my soul—although the dress has changed and may have given you some concern. You may have known it from my writings, which, as I believe, only reveal what I owe, and what you may wish. God sometimes allows bad things in order to achieve good things out of them, and my plans aim at this goal only, thanking you humbly for the hope you gave me in your last letter, and putting in the hands of divine providence the success of my misery and my actions.

I saw the reaction you had to my *Relation Afriquaine*,[51] which did not please me, because the esteem and praise that you expressed make me suspect that you approved of it because of your kindness and courtesy and not because of its content. Speaking honestly, I recognize my imperfection in composition, style, and spelling, and finally, I find it unworthy to be seen and be read by persons of your judgment and quality. If something excuses it (as you say it very well), it is that it was completed in the dominion of barbarism, which, not surprisingly, is reflected in it. If my inability had some presumption, it was to dedicate it to you, which can be excused, since I addressed it to you only to have it corrected and criticized. If the book does not serve as history, it will at least serve as a comedy so you can laugh at my simplemindedness.

Regarding *Nubiensis*, about which you write me, it has been a little while since it was mentioned to me. The Arabic geography was translated and printed in Paris, but I will be pleased to see what this Nubian says.

Regarding the *Alcoran* and all the other books that you sent me: I received them with all due respect and admiration, and imagined I was a cardinal when I saw the color and quality of their bindings. I do not know why Leo Africanus was printed in such a small volume; as a study book and not a pocket book, the bigger the better. I think it is a new shape we give books nowadays in order to save on paper; small things are nice, but big things are beautiful. And because I do not know how to thank you fittingly for your favors and liberality, I would say with Salust that I'd rather stay quiet rather than say little.

I think I told you once that I wrote in Spanish a sort of story about the beginning and first age of the world, from the creation until Abraham. I would say now that I reviewed it and turned it into French to send it to you, and I hope in two or three months to write it all neatly and finish it. But to tell you the truth, I'm afraid the quality of your rare judgment exposes my meaner capacitiy; this is why before I rush and annoy or displease you, I humbly ask you to send me back your opinion on the *Relation Afriquaine*, and tell me if you wish to read the continuation of my ignorance and temerity. There often is a good plant in a bad garden, and maybe you will find in this story some curious information that will please you, although poorly said and written.

You write in your letter that I should use double glasses to help the weakness of my sight. I don't really understand this doubling, and have been using two pair of glasses instead, one on top of the other, but without much improvement. Maybe the ones you mention are different and if so, could you please send me a pair. With ordinary glasses and with candlelight, I have not been able to read for this past five years. Moreover, I am not well supplied [with eyeglasses], and although I received from France and Italy what was sent to me, they were so rough that I could barely use them. If there is a pair, good, clear, and for a sixty-year-old sight, I would pay for it in gold. Glasses are not used here, because Turks and Moors have a sight as good at seventy and eighty years old as they had it at twenty and thirty years old. They believe that is so because they don't wear glasses and never did.

A Maronite came to Tunis to negotiate the ransom of slaves. He was born in Tripoli in Syria, a renowned professor of Oriental languages, and particularly of Chaldean, Syriac, and Arabic, and is well recognized in Rome, where he served the pope for a handsome salary. He knows philosophy and theology very well. His name is Abraham Echelen.[52] I showed him the supposedly Punic epitaph that I had sent you, and he assured me that it was neither Punic, nor Syriac, nor Chaldean. He believed it was some ancient form of Egyptian, because it did not appear to be Chaldean or Samaritan. He said that had he been in Christendom, he would have had the courage to decipher it. I lent it to him. He will leave soon, and he promised me to work on deciphering it and sending me his finding. I will keep you updated.

I will send you the answer to the musical question in a separate letter, similar to the one I sent you about the weights and measurements that you requested, with the catalogue of dishes and vases we use in this country. As for the vases you desire, there is nothing here that befits your status and interest. However, to fulfill my duty, and given the rusticity of this place, I hereby send you six bowls with which we drink coffee, which come from Constantinople, and four small ones that come from Hyemen, which are rather fine.

These past months, Sir de Gastines[53] passed on to me from you such an abundance of refreshments that he surpassed, if not his commission, at least my merit, and I don’t know if I should give this profusion the title of liberality or prodigality. I send you a thousand humble thanks for your generosity and courtesy, together with all the blessings that you wish to give me.

You judged correctly about the winds that bring rain—and serenity—here. The rainy winds are the northern and mistral ones, the serene ones are from the south and the west. The strong ones, the sirocco, come from the east.

I will remember to help Sir Louicou as much as I can, and will show him the power that your orders have on me. And after kissing your hands with reverence, I will end this letter, praying God, Sir, that He give you the good that I wish you, and the fulfillment of all felicity and prosperity.

From Tunis, this last day of June 1633.
Your humble and obliging servant,
De Arcos

II

[February 16, 1636]
Same address
Sir,

I received four letters together that you had sent on April 29, May 3, and September 21 and 30, along with the quadrant and short telescope. I am deeply upset not to be able to obey you, and ashamed not to be capable of such; because your multiple and important questions belong to people with more knowledge and experience than I. Still, I appreciated and admired the order and style with which you raised them, proving the greatness and eminence of your knowledge of literature, and especially your admirable ability to capture concepts far from ordinary. The lunar eclipse that you noted on August 28 happened here on the 27th. It began around 10 p.m. and lasted about four hours. According to the *Ephimerides* of Andre Argoli, published in 1623, the eclipse is also reported on the 27th rather than the 28th. Concerning the solar eclipse that should occur next February 20th, if I could, and my indisposition permits me, I will make sure to observe it as best I can, in light of your instructions. Regarding the location of the mountains, their shape, size, and quality that you mention, I cannot search for you because it requires someone fit and active, and I am ill and slow, and my age cannot now help me fulfill this task. And for me to ask someone else to do it, please believe me that the barbarity [of North Africa] does not endow people with such capacity. Although the Arabs in the past were learned, maybe you imagined that the relics of their knowledge have been passed to their descendants. They are a hundred times more barbaric and ignorant than the Greeks in Athens today.

As for the rising and ebbing of the seas on this coast, and the beaches, shores, gulfs, and rivers that pour in them, their sandy banks, rises and falls, I wish, like you, to know about them, but doing the research myself is impossible, and if I listen to words of others, I will never know anything for certain, because as I said, ignorance dominates so many of these people that most of them do not know how old they are, and if someone appears to know anything, it is only that which pertains to the ceremony and law of their religion, which are vain and superstitious.

Here is, Sir, what I can answer of your questions, being upset at not being able to answer them all, and very disappointed at not giving you the contentment that I wish I could. I think, however, that what you wrote—that I was able to answer such serious, rare, and exquisite queries—stemmed more from your generous spirit than your conviction.

The affair of Lange Rostan [captive] remains unchanged since I wrote to you last, and for less than three hundred pieces of eight reals, his patron [owner] will not release him. I keep the owner and the slave in good rapport, awaiting this good priest, his uncle, to accomplish what he had promised in a letter he wrote me. I had answered him telling him that I would ask you to give him [the three hundred pieces].

Regarding your Arabic books that the corsairs seized, I have not heard or seen anything about them.

We have had a rough winter with heavy rains and cold temperatures, which is rare; mistral winds were dominant, which were probably the cause. The seeds look promising; however, if no rain falls this coming April, sterility will be more apparent than fertility. Also, last year the locusts did much damage in this country, and we fear that they did not lose their eggs, which could hatch this year.

With this letter you will receive a package in which there is a new Roman breviary that you will be able to use in the chamber, and two volumes of books bound in white. One deals with *differentiae utroque forum*,[54] the other with *de conditionibus et modis impossibilibus*.[55] The first one seems more interesting than the second. Sir, please accept these books as I hope to find more estimable and valuable material. However, I would make a very humble request for something that is more than necessary for me. It is that you tell one of your servants to find me three or four pairs of glasses for [people aged] sixty-three to sixty-six years. All the ones I have are useless and I cannot wear them anymore. You would do me not only a favor and a courtesy, but also a charitable deed; I will cover their cost, whatever it may be. I am compelled to ask your help and favor, because the friends to whom I have written sent me ordinary, useless things, and I am sure that if you are involved, your intervention will solve the problem. Please excuse the temerity of my soliciting you on such a personal matter, but the necessity I have to recover by artifice what I have lost by nature has given me the courage to seek this favor from you.

I remain your very humble and very affectionate servant.

Tunis, this 16 February 1636.

De Arcos.

8

1635: LETTER ABOUT MUSLIM CAPTIVES CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY, RABAT NATIONAL LIBRARY, MS JĪM 223, 101–103.

This letter from Mulay al-Walīd, grandson of Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur, describes the capture of his nephew by the Spaniards, and his nephew's subsequent conversion to Christianity in Spain. The letter shows the anxiety about Muslim tannasur/*Christianization and the danger of such defection to the enemy.*

To our devoted, honored, favored and respected servant, commander so-and-so, may God reward and support you. Peace be with you and the mercy of God and His blessings.

We write to you from our High Porte in Red Marrakesh, protected and preserved by God, may God increase His benevolence, grace, and strength. To God be thanks.

We have received at our High Porte your letter informing us about your brother, so-and-so, and what has happened to him and the malice of the enemy and their other deeds against you. As to what you have mentioned about your brother's intent to convert to the religion of Christianity, may God forbid that, especially after your intense effort to extricate him from that predicament. We feel anger toward him because of you, for you are one of the most trusted of our servants. He had planned, God foreknowing, what he had planned, but now he has done what he has done. Nothing can change that for which he has been destined. Do not feel hurt at the malicious pleasure that your enemy has drawn, for you should care only if discontent is expressed from our High Porte. Even if your brother had been here with you and away from the infidels, none would be able to guide him. God in His greatness has said: "But he for whom Allah intends *fitnah*/misbelief—never will you possess [power to do] for him a thing against Allah" [5:41]. So do not grow agitated, and calm yourself: God will defeat the infidels and, by His will, they will lose. What we command you to do is to hold on to the rest of the ransom and not to pay anything more, because your brother had been a captive, but is now converted to Christianity. So what is the use of paying the rest of the ransom? You had made the case to the infidels, telling them to return your brother so that he would no longer be with them. Otherwise, you will get nothing from me.

As for the Muslims whom your brother had in his service and friendship: if they are liberated, praise be to God, let the captors take seven hundred ounces of the thirty thousand ounces that they unfairly seized; but if they do not return the captives and keep them, let them do with them what they please. Not a single dirham will be given freely because it will be in vain. As for your negotiation with the infidels about returning the Muslims who had fled to them, that is a rotten idea, for you have seen their [captors'] deceit regarding your brother whom they refused to return, so how will they treat the Muslims who deserted their Islam and joined their infidelity? This is a matter that reason will not accept. As for the four thousand ounces that you mentioned you needed to complete your military preparation, we do not think it too big a sum for you. But we thought that paying the other sum would be of no use and would produce no result. Neither will you be a winner regarding the money nor your Christianized brother. What is the point of paying the ransom then?

Here is the servant of our High Porte, the grand vizier so-and-so:

he will write to the infidels, may God demean, defeat, and humiliate them. All this is for your information, God willing.

9

1635: Expulsion of the Moriscos, Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ ibn Muhammad al-Andalusi, al-Anwar al-Nabawiyah fī Aba’ Khair al-Bariyah, *in A. Turki, “Watha’iq al-hijra al-Andalūsiyah al-Akhīrah,”* Hawliyat al-Jamiʿah al-Tunisiyah *4 (1967): 27–39.*[56]

This account about the expulsion was written by Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ ibn Muhammad al-Andalusi, his last epithet emphasizing his Andalusian origin. As he states, he had fled with his father in A.H. *1013 (1604) and settled in Tunis three years later:* “*God was kind to deliver us from their hands, may God destroy them.*” *The early sections of the manuscript reveal the author's need to assert Arabness and pride in the Prophet, crediting him miracles, including the raising of the dead (p. 264). They also include many recollections about Christians, showing how they and Muslims had lived amicably together. Al-Andalusi states that he finished writing his text on January 25, 1635. He died eight years later in Mecca.*

See the discussion of this text in the Conclusion.

Many of our brethren in God in these African regions, Tunisians and others, may God almighty protect them, have chided us, we the nobility of al-Andalus, saying: “Where is their honor, they having been in the land of the infidels—may God almighty destroy them—for hundreds of years, so much so that none of them [Andalusians] is left who knows about Islam; they having mixed with the Christians, may God almighty keep them away” and other such talk which we will not repeat here in order to protect their honor and my love for them.

I say, and God almighty grant me success, He is the guide to the most straight path: Notwithstanding that I was young when we came to this land, may God almighty build it up with Islam and the people of Islam in the glory of the chosen Prophet—God’s prayer and peace upon him. God almighty taught me about the religion of Islam through my father, God almighty rest his soul. I was six years old or less, and I used to go to the school of the Christians to learn their religion, then return to our house, where my father taught me the religion of Islam. I studied them both together. I was sent to school when I was four years.

My father took an oak [writing] board: I can see it now, so smooth without any clay or other stains, and he wrote the letters of the alphabet. He would ask me, letter after letter, how similar they were to the letters of the Christians. When I would enunciate a Spanish letter, he would write an Arabic letter and say to me then: “These are our letters.” He continued teaching me so until he completed the alphabet twice. When he finished the first time, he asked me not to tell anyone, not even my mother, my [paternal] aunt, my brother, or the rest of our relatives. He told me not to tell a single soul, and he was quite insistent. Actually, he would send my mother to me to ask me, “What does your father teach you?” and I would answer, “Nothing.” She would say, “Tell me, and don’t be afraid, because I know what he is teaching you.” I would answer, “Nothing at all, he is not teaching me anything.” And so would my uncle, too, but I always denied vehemently. Then I would go to the school of the Christians, and return home, and my father would teach me.

Time passed, and he sent some of his friends and brethren in God to question me, but I never admitted anything to them. For he, God almighty rest his soul, risked death if I divulged what he was doing. He would be burned, most certainly. But God, almighty and praiseworthy, supported us and helped us remember Him and thank Him and worship Him correctly among the most malevolent of the enemies of religion.

My father, God almighty rest his soul, used to teach me what to say when I saw the idols. He said: “If you enter their churches and see their idols, say in your heart the words of God: ‘O men, give ear to this parable: Those you worship other than God can never create as much as a fly, even if they get together to do so; and if the fly were to rob them of a thing, they would not be able to snatch it away from it’ [22:73]. Say: ‘O you unbelievers, I do not worship what you worship’ [109:1–2] and other holy verses, and the Almighty’s words: And because they denied and spoke dreadful calumnies of Mary; And for saying: ‘We killed the Christ, Jesus, son of Mary, who was an apostle of God’; but they neither killed nor crucified him, though it appeared to them. Those who disagree in the matter are only lost in doubt. They have no knowledge about it other than conjecture, for surely they did not kill him, But God raised him up (in position) and closer to Himself; and God is all-mighty and all-wise” [4:156–158].

When my father, God almighty rest his soul, ascertained that I withheld my knowledge about the religion of Islam from both my relatives and outsiders, he told me that I could only divulge my knowledge to my mother, [paternal] aunt and uncle, and some of his close friends. They used to come to our house to discuss religion, while I listened.

When he saw my determination, notwithstanding my youth, he rejoiced and introduced me to his friends and brethren in Islam. I met with each one of them individually, and traveled far and wide to meet with honorable Muslims in Jaen, the city of Ibn Malik [d. 1274] and then to Granada and Cordoba, Seville and Toledo and other cities in the Green Island, may God almighty return it to Islam. After getting to know them, I found seven of them who all spoke to me about Granada, and how Islam had flourished there, as I described it [earlier in the manuscript] and will describe it later. They were the only link I had with the days of Islam there; by meeting them, I benefited a lot, thanks be to God. All of them, God have mercy on their souls, had studied under one of the sheikhs of Granada—may God return it to Islam—known as the Uturi jurist, God almighty have mercy on his soul. From him we all benefited. For he was a virtuous man, obedient to God, honorable, ascetical, pious, learned, and a [Sufi] seeker, having performed many famous feats and notable and striking *karamat*. He had studied the Holy Qur’an in the school of Islam in Granada, before it was seized by the enemies of religion, when he was eight years old. Notwithstanding his youthfulness, he studied jurisprudence and other topics under revered sheikhs. He did so, as much as possible, because there was little time, both in the open and in secret, given the intensity of the fighting and the siege they were under.

After a short period of time, Granada was ripped from our Muslim grandparents. The enemy gave permission to all those who wanted to leave to sail away within three years, and to sell what they had, and come to these Islamic lands, may God almighty keep them flourishing with Islam until the Day of Judgment. Whoever wanted to continue in his faith and keep his property was permitted to do so, after meeting the conditions that the enemy of religion set for the Muslims.[57]

Thus, our grandfathers started their preparations, and decided to leave their dwellings and properties, and depart from their homelands in an exodus [from the Christians]. Quickly, and all of a sudden, they crossed over to these Tunisian lands and green regions, and those who arrived settled in the Alley of the Andalusians, as it is known now, in the year 902 [A.D.1492]. They also crossed over to Algiers, Tetouan, Fez, Marrakesh, and other places. When the enemy saw that they were determined to leave, he reneged on the agreement and, against their noses, forced them back from the seacoasts to their dwellings, and prevented them from their exodus and from following their brethren and relatives to the lands of Islam. The enemy said one thing to them but did another. The Muslims our grandfathers repeatedly asked help from the kings of Islam then, such as those of Fez and Egypt. But neither they nor others came to their help, except for a few letters, God allowing what had already been determined.

The enemy then started to force infidelity upon them. He began by prohibiting them Muslim clothes, gatherings, baths, and other Islamic practices. They resisted firmly and repeatedly, and rose up against him and fought him until God be praised determined what He had already foreknown. We remained among them while the enemy of religion burned with fire all who acted like Muslims, inflicting on them all kinds of tortures. How many Muslims did they burn, and how many did they torture, and how many did they expel from their lands! We are of God and to Him we shall return.

Then, God be praised sent victory and relief. He inspired the hearts to flee, in the year 1013 after his *hijra* [A.D.1604], God's prayer and peace on him. So some of us departed to the Maghrib, and others to the Mashriq, disguised as followers of the religion of the infidels, may God send them away. Some of our brethren went to the city of Belgrade, in the dominion of Grand Constantinople, and met with the grand vizier, Murad Pasha, God rest his soul, who was one of the ministers of his highness the grand sultan and the exalted Khaqan, God almighty have mercy on his soul, Sultan Ahmad Khan [the First] of the Ottoman dynasty,[58] may God almighty grant them victory and support them and have mercy on their noble predecessors. Amen. He told him what had happened to our Andalusian brethren and what suffering and despair they had faced in France and elsewhere.[59]

Having received permission from the Sultan, God almighty make him victorious, the aforementioned minister, God almighty rest his soul, wrote to the keeper of France [Henry IV, reg. 1589–1610], God almighty destroy it, commanding him to send away all the Andalusian Muslims who were in his country and subjects of the Ottoman dynasty. They were to be transported on the sultan's ships and were to be given all they needed. They were to make their way to the lands of Islam. When the sultanic command was read in the *diwan* of the French in Paris, the seat of the kingdom, and was heard by a messenger there who had been sent from the keeper of the Green Island, the cursed Philippo III [reg. 1598–1621], the messenger wrote to his master telling him about what had happened: that Sultan Ahmad, of the Ottoman dynasty, had sent his order to the keeper of France to send away whoever was there from the Andalusians and others. [The French king] obeyed the words and ordered the Muslims to leave, and assured all who had arrived from the Andalus that they were in no danger. They could board his ships from his coasts and sail to wherever they wanted to go in the lands of dear and victorious Islam.

When the enemy of God, Philippo, keeper of the Green Island, which is called Spain, found out about this matter, he became deeply afraid. He then ordered all his priests and clergy and patriarchs to convene, seeking their advice about what should be done with the Muslims who were spread throughout the land. The discussion began with the people of Valencia, and they decided and agreed to expel all the Muslims from his kingdom, and to give them ships, and issue orders and decrees regarding how they should be driven out. He insisted that his decrees be obeyed so that all the Muslims be kept away from al-Andalus.

This is a great mercy and an evident benevolence from our generous God, who changed the hearts of the enemy, and effected this great protection by His bounty, almighty and praiseworthy.

Yes! I want to provide you with a brief synopsis that I have summarized and translated about the reasons that the infidel king, may God almighty keep him away, included in the decrees he issued regarding our brethren the Andalusians when he decided to expel them from the Green Island. I want you to know from this synopsis about the condition of the Andalusians, and learn some of the true reasons for which they were expelled, and not those that the envious claim. I also want to confirm what we have introduced earlier about Sultan Ahmad al-Mansur by God, descendant of the Ottoman dynasty, may God almighty grant them victory, Amen. I hope this synopsis will prove useful lest we, the people of the Andalus, be maligned. So I say, and God grant me success.

The infidel king, may God keep him away and destabilize him, amen, said in his decrees: “The good and wholesome sultanic policy necessitates the exodus of those who have sullied the lives of all the Christian subjects in the kingdom, where they live a comfortable and good life. Experience has shown us clearly that the Andalusians are descendants of those who devastated our kingdom in the past by revolting against us repeatedly. They killed many of the nobility of our kingdom, as well as priests and monks who were living among them. They cut up their bodies, tore out their organs, and tortured them viciously in a manner unheard of before. They never repented what they did, and never returned truly in their hearts to the religion of Christianity. They would not heed either our invocations or those of our royal ancestors or our predecessors. Although we burned many of them in the fire for persisting in the religion of the Muslims, we saw very clearly that they continued in their stubbornness and persisted in adhering to that religion. They also sought help from the Ottoman sultan against us, and it became clear to me that there was Islamic correspondence between them and him, as well as religious exchange. All this I ascertained by means of accurate informers’ communications that reached me. Despite all that was transpiring, none of them approached us to tell us what they were plotting among each other, either then or in earlier times. Rather, they kept their secrecy, which confirmed to me that they had all concurred on one decision, one religion, and one will. It also became clear to me and to those wise and pious among the priests, monks, and patriarchs whom I had convened for consultation that whoever keeps them amongst us will cause consternation and bring about corruption and endanger our power. By ousting them from our midst, we will end the corruption that they spread by remaining in my kingdom. I decided to expel them all, en masse, from our sultanate so that the evil that had befallen and would befall our Christian subjects, who are obedient to our laws and religion, would be eradicated. I wanted to cast them into the lands of the Muslims because they were Muslims and would there be with their ilk." End of quotation.

I did not mention other decrees that he wrote down and implemented. So look, God have mercy on you, how the enemy of religion, the infidel king, himself attested that they were Muslims and admitted that he could not remove their religion from their hearts. They all clung to their religion despite his burning everyone who clung to his religion. He denounced their stubbornness for continuing to be Muslims, and fulfilling the religion of God for hundreds of years. What greater proof [of their Islam] than their endurance of fire for the religion of truth? And who interceded on their behalf but his highness Sultan Ahmad, descendant of the Ottoman dynasty, may God almighty grant them victory. This is proof of the victory of goodness, honor, and blessing in this righteous Andalusian community, about whom our sheikh and master, the [Sufi] *qutb* Sīdi Abu al-Ghaith al-Qashash, may God almighty convey his benefits to us in this as well as the next world, wrote in some of the correspondence that he sent to me about them soon after their arrival in this land, may God keep it for Islam. He said to me: "Greet those righteous, chosen Ansar[60] for me, for you cannot be loved except by a believer, and hated by a hypocrite." End of quotation.

The words of the master, may God have mercy on his soul, are confirmed by the noble saying mentioned at the beginning of this book in chapter one, like the saying of Salman al-Farisi, may God be pleased with him, and of ‘Ali, may God almighty be pleased with him [citing the Prophet's] saying, God's peace and prayer on him: "Only the hypocrite can hate the Arabs" and other sayings …. And so they all left in the year 1017 [A.D. 1608].[61]

In the records of the infidel sultan, may God send him away, amen, [there is reference] that there were about six hundred thousand and more young and old of the Andalusians who were expelled. This episode was truly one of the miracles of the Prophet, God's prayer and peace on him, and a great deed and a marvelous blessing on our Andalusian community, may God increase their honor with His bounty. The infidel king ordered the expulsion of those who were in prison in his kingdom, and all who had been condemned to be burned: he released and pardoned them, provisioned them, and safely sent them to the lands of Islam.

It cannot be denied that this is a great matter above the usual. For we had been in great exigency in our religion, livelihood, and wealth. Praise be to the God of the heavens and the earth who if He decides on an action says, Be, and it is. What a marvel [that action was] and how great the blessing and how glorious this benediction and how beautiful and grand this grace! For nothing like this action had been heard of from the beginning of the world till its end. There is no doubt that the liberation was from the benevolence of the Prophet, God's peace and prayer on him, in the same way He showed benevolence to all the prophets and messengers, on them all His prayer and peace.

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1642: Description of the World, in Ahmad ibn Qasim, Nasir al-Dīn ʿala al-Qawm al-Kafirīn, *ed. Muhammad Razzūq, 95–99.*[62]

Ahmad ibn Qasim al-Hajari was born ca. 1570 in the village of al-Hajar al-Ahmar near Granada. He mastered Spanish as well as Arabic, which is why he became involved in deciphering the mysterious Lead Books that were discovered in 1588 in what came to be known as the Sacro Monte. In 1599 he fled from the port of Santa Maria to al-Bureija (now al-Jadida), which was then under Portuguese rule, and from there to Azammur and then to Wadi Tansift where, in July, he met Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur, who was fleeing from the plague. Because of his linguistic versatility, Ibn Qasim became the court scribe and translator for the ruler and his successors, Mulay Zaydan, ʿAbd al-Malik, and al-Walīd. He went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return stopped in Cairo, and in October 1641 he was in Tunis. He wrote numerous books, some of which, he said, were stolen from him on his way to the pilgrimage. He also translated books from Spanish.

As his text shows, Muslim knowledge of geography had severely declined since its heyday in the medieval period, when Muslims had been explorers of the world. The lands that Sindbad knew so well are completely unknown to Ibn Qasim and to others of his community. Nor do Muslims produce their own maps of the world, and they are astonished at the new cartography of the Europeans (and the Turks, as in the case of al-Tamjruti, who wondered at the mabba*). There was not even an Arabic word that they could use for "map."*

Know that in the past, the ancients divided the world into four quarters, each with its own name. They gave the name of Europe to the interior part that is near the North Pole, from the Black Sea to the farthest end of al-Andalus. In this quarter is the world-famous and renowned city, the greatest of cities according to all knowledgeable peoples and religions: Constantinople, may God almighty protect it and preserve it for Islam as long as the world continues. I was told that the Muslims in this quarter live in a region that can be crossed by an average traveler on foot in fifty days—although the region is probably larger and would take more time to cover. Anything that is not inhabited by Muslims belongs to Christians: the sultan of Almaniya [Germans], who appear to be the Slavonians, and who are mentioned in Arabic histories. There is also the interior land of Muscovy, and the land of Rome in Italy, and the lands of the Franks, of the Flanders, and of the English, and the land of al-Andalus with all the adjacent islands in the surrounding ocean [Atlantic] and sea [Mediterranean].

They call the second quarter the African Quarter. The name was taken or derived from a great city that used to be known as *ifrīqiya*, and in Spanish, "Africa." It stood near Tunis, God protect it. In our times, this quarter, known among the people as the lands of the Maghrib, begins from the Suez Sea; the ocean [Atlantic] surrounds it from the south, and the Maghrib and the small sea [Mediterranean] surround it from the north, and the east. Most of the inhabitants of this quarter are Muslim. As for Egypt [Cairo], protected by God, it is one of the greatest cities in the world. It is like Paris in France if we add to it Old Cairo and Bulaq. It contains twelve thousand villages. To its west is Alexandria and further west is Tripoli, then Tunis and all the lands therein, including the land of *al-jarīd*. Further west is Algiers and all the lands under its government; and then Tilimsen, which used to be the seat of kings, as I have already mentioned, but is now under Algerian rule. Westward is the city of Fez and adjacent regions, a seat of kings, and then the city of Marrakesh, which is as large as, or just a bit smaller than, the city of Paris in France. Marrakesh is the seat of the Sharīfian sultans.

I was there in the last five years of the rule of Mulay Ahmad [al-Mansur, d. 1603], God have mercy on his soul. He had reigned since the time that the Christian sultan of Portugal died [1578]. The latter had marched with mighty armies, but he died and his soldiers remained in Muslim captivity. Mulay Ahmad remained in rule for twenty-five years until he died in the year 1012 [A.H.]. He ruled over the sultanate of Marrakesh and the adjacent areas, the sultanate of Fez, the sultanate of the farther Sus, the sultanate of Sijilmassa, which is now known as Tafilet, the regions of Draʿ, which is near Marrakesh, and the region of Tuwwat. He also ruled over two sultanates in the lands of the blacks, both of which he—the aforementioned sultan, God have mercy on his soul—had conquered: the city of Timbuctoo and all the regions under it, and the city of Jagh and Kukiya [early capital of Songhay Empire]. Only ten degrees latitude separate those cities from the Equator. In the lands of the blacks, there are many countries with Muslim populations, including the sultanate of Mali, which stretches to the Ocean Sea. There is also a great sultanate that belongs to the sultan of Borneo. There are many Muslim countries between the sultanate of Borneo and the land of Ethiopia, both to the east and to the south. The rest of the inhabitants in this quarter are a small minority of Majūs [pagans]. There is a Christian sultan, too. As for what the common people claim, that the blacks in the world are more numerous than the whites: that is false and fraudulent. I think the blacks are one-tenth the number of whites. Also, the Jews lie about the river Sabt, claiming that beyond it is a great Jewish sultanate, and that the river does not flow on the Sabbath.[63]

In our present times, people have learned more about the world than they had known in earlier times. The Jews console themselves in their humiliation and shame by mentioning the Sabt River. And if they are asked: "In which region or part of the world does that river run," they do not know what to say. This African quarter extends to the edge of Good Hope and is thirty-seven degrees south of the Equator. The two sides of the earth tighten together there as if forming a strait. The Ocean Sea surrounds it, as also the Small Sea and the Suez Sea, as we have already mentioned.

As for the other half of the world, it is called in Spanish "Ashia." To Muslims belong Syria, Mecca, Medina, Hijaz, Yemen, and the lands of the Turks, famous for their blessings, although I do not know the names of the divisions of those lands. There are Arabs and non-Arabs in those lands. There is Baghdad, and all the regions adjacent, and the lands of Hurmuz and the sultan of Hadramawt, and the sultanate of Qishin, and the sultanate of Dhufar, and the country of Imam Nuʿman, then the country of India, Khurasan, the country of Persia and all the regions that belong to it and those beyond the river [Transoxania]. Also, there are Samarkand, Bukhara, Uzbek, and the land of the Tatars that occupy a large area. Sultan Jalal al-Dīn among the Indians is a great sultan, and it is said that he uses elephants in his wars, as some Indians also told me in the Azhar Mosque in Egypt/Cairo. An Andalusian in the noble city of Mecca told me that for years he had served two Muslim sultans, besides Sultan Jalal al-Dīn.

There are many other Muslim countries and regions that I did not mention because of my ignorance. All that we have mentioned is found in the great land attached to the regions of the Muslims.

There are maps that depict Christians, and the earthly sphere where every city is shown and its name written with its longitude and latitude, along with rivers and seas, as I have already mentioned. The maps show the great continent that is connected to the lands of the Muslims. It starts from the Maghribi quarter and constitutes one half of the world, which we said is known as Ashia. It is more than 140 degrees in longitude. Each degree is considered fifty-two miles and a half: if someone walks in a straight line without climbing a mountain or making any descent, it will take about three days for an average walker to cover every degree. We estimated the length of al-Andalus to be thirty days' walk for an average traveler: since its length is ten or eleven degrees according to famous travelogues, then it takes thirty days' walk, since each degree requires three days, as we have said. We calculate that the continent of the Muslims will need 420 days to cross.

A messenger came from the country of the Flemish to Mulay Zaydan, son of Mulay Ahmad, God rest their souls, in the city of Marrakesh. He brought a letter of credentials in Spanish, which the sultan ordered me to translate into Arabic. The messenger was very affable [showed *mahabba*] to me. I saw that he had some Arabic books and that he was able to read and write in Arabic. So I asked him where he had learned that. He said:

"Know that I was on the island of so-and-so in the East Indies from where nutmeg, clove, cinnamon, and other spices [are brought]. The islands belong to Muslims. There I learned how to read."

I asked: "Are there Muslims in those islands?"

He said: "Yes, and on every island there is a Muslim sultan. On some islands, there are two sultans."

I was astonished but he swore on his religion and what he worshipped that there are over ten thousand islands belonging to the Muslims. I paused and then reflected how three factors verify his truthfulness. First, he could read and write in Arabic. Years are needed for learning Arabic, and in Flanders, there is none other than the one we shall mention who can read Arabic. So there are only two. Secondly, he is a messenger, and kings do not send a liar to carry a message. Thirdly, he is a Christian and an enemy to religion [Islam]. It is not the custom of Christians to praise Muslims. And if an enemy attests to what is in your favor, you should view that attestation as a victory. Even if we were to say that he was exaggerating, and even if we took one tenth of what he said to be true, a thousand islands would be left, each with a Muslim sultan.

I read in some books of the Christians that the East Indies islands are more than 1,300 islands. Also, I read a Spanish book by Pedro Tashayira, a Christian, where he mentions that he sailed from Portugal in the land of al-Andalus.[64] He traveled to the West Indies, then crossed it on land, then sailed the ocean, going westward … [empty space] at sea between the eastern islands until he reached near Baghdad. He traveled by land in the lands of the Muslims until he reached the Rūmi Sea [Mediterranean]—I think he mentioned Aleppo. He then sailed to the lands of the Christians, traveling by sea and land until he circled the whole world. He was a wise man, and wrote about what he saw. Among the things he mentioned in his book was a large island among the islands of the East Indies where Islam had been preached one hundred and thirty years earliers. The island is known as Java and its people became Muslim. Before converting to Islam, they used to eat human flesh. Thanks be to God who instructs and teaches us that the largest part of the world is inhabited by Muslims whose reign will not change until the end of time. It is not surprising that those islands were conquered from the infidels, for Muslims are commanded to fight in a jihad against the infidels and the polytheists, in accordance with His words: “O Prophet! Strive against the disbelievers and the hypocrites, and be stern with them” [66:9]. God will make Muslims victorious in their striving against the infidels; if they desist, God will punish them among each other, in accordance with the saying of the Prophet, peace and prayer of God be on him: “If a people decide to renounce striving, God will punish them among each other.” And we have seen something of that.

It is evident that the stone that broke the idol and became so great that it built the whole world was the Prophet Muhammad, peace and prayer of God be on him, and the followers of his religion. It was not our Lord Jesus, peace be upon him, nor the Christians, who claim to follow his religion.

Each of the Christian sultans trembles and fears the sultans of Islam and [true] religion, who are fighting for the cause of God. These are the great and noble Ottoman Turkish sultans. I have already mentioned what I had seen and learned from the Christians in their lands about the great fear they have of the Ottomans in their hearts. The Christian kings realized that it was important for them to befriend the Turkish sultans, and to act peacefully and cordially—so much so that each of them sends a messenger to reside permanently in Great Constantinople asking for peace and good relations. May God make them [Turks] victorious and preserve their kingdom forever, and may He make the Christian and unbelieving enemies fall at their feet. The Turks do not send a messenger to reside permanently in [Christian] lands.

It is true that the sultan of Spain—which is the lands of al-Andalus —wanted to send, like other Christian kings, a messenger to reside permanently, but the [Turks] rejected the king’s offer after they learned of the king’s hostility to Islam. They also learned about the king’s betrayal of Muslims in the past, and how he had deceived the sultan of the West Indies in the city of Mexico, known as Michaq [Montezuma]. The king had sent messengers who had taken presents to him but then killed him. [The king had also signed] treaties with the Muslims of al-Andalus when he usurped their land, and then reneged. And when he ordered the Andalusians to leave his country, he took the children who were under ten years of age or thereabouts from everyone whom he knew was leaving to a Muslim land. [They learned about his heinousness after] the seizure of Milan, too. Muslim sultans have not had worse or more harmful enemies than the Spanish sultans. They harm Muslim sultans without the latter really becoming aware of the harm because of their financial strength. We ask God almighty, through the blessing of His prophet Muhammad, upon him the best prayer and blessing, to make the Muslim sultans victorious over the infidels, a victory that will inject pride into Islam. O God of all the worlds.

11A

BEFORE 1688: CHRISTIAN ATTACK ON JARBAH (TUNISIA) IN 1510, IN SULAYMAN IBN AHMAD AL-HILATI, ʻULAMA' JARBAH, *ED. MUHAMMAD QAWJAH, 32–39.*

Al-Hilati lived in the second half of the seventeenth century and died in 1688. In his book about Jarbah, he chronicled the history of the island and the European attacks on it, along with some biographical accounts of leading men. He opened his book, however, with an account about an attack on the island by Christians in 1510, and showed the victory of the Ibadite soldiers over the invading Spaniards. For him, the victory was proof that the Ibadite school of jurisprudence, rejected by the mainstream Sunni schools, was protected by God, who gave it and its followers ascendancy over the infidels. In this case, the enemy was the sixteenth-century Christian Spaniard, but the audience was the seventeenth-century Muslim who was to see the divine advantages of belonging to the Ibadite school.

Even a century and a half after the attack, al-Hilati was still angry.

All the news that reaches us from the lands of the Christians, may God destroy them, is about the fleet sailing against the land of the Muslims. But no one knows to where specifically. On Thursday night, the 17th of the month of God Rabīʿ al-Awal 916 A.H. [July 25, 1510], the fleet descended on the city of Tripoli, and by Friday night the city had been taken without any fighting on the part of the inhabitants.[65] Only a few of their men [Spaniards] were killed. They [Spaniards] seized all the wealth and the souls in the city, which added strength to their strength. They grew proud and turned to attack the island of Jarbah, may [God] protect it from their evil.

And then, may God destroy them, they sent about twenty or more ships to the island to reconnoiter it and learn about its inhabitants and its sheikh. The ships reached the island on Tuesday the 29th of the same month, to the east of the island, an area called the Ruqqa. When Sheikh Abu Zakariyya [Yahya al-Sumumni], the sheikh of the island and its servant, God protect him, learned the news, he left the castle and headed [toward the Spanish fleet], followed by a large crowd of people. When he reached the fleet, he had an argument with the Christians because they, may God destroy them, imposed on the sheikh, may God honor him, conditions that he could not but refuse. They then threatened him, saying that if he did not consent, he should better prepare for battle and war.

The sheikh, God protect him, showed them his fortitude and dignity, unafraid of them even if they brought many times more the numbers they already had. They became angry, God destroy them, and they sailed in their ships to the castle at the mouth of the river, in the south of the island. The sheikh and his followers went to the palace of Masū'd—its name congruent to its meaning [happy].

After the [Spaniards] reached the river mouth, they sent some of their ships to the bridge. It has been said: when they reached it, they sent some men who climbed the gate, I mean the gate of the bridge, and raised their flag. But it fell, by God's will. They viewed this as a bad omen and they became angry. The sheikh was told about the incident, and he and those with him grew hopeful and rejoiced. Then, they, God destroy them, stayed there for a few days, after which they returned to the city of Tripoli. The sheikh, may God protect him, started preparing to fight them, and called on his followers for jihad and defense. He gathered the people to organize them and remained in this state [of preparedness] until the night of Thursday 23 Jamadi al-Awal of that same year when the whole [Spanish] fleet arrived to the advance position. The number of the ships was one hundred and twenty or thirty—depending on who did the counting.[66] And the number of the men, it was said when they had entered Tripoli, was twenty thousand, of whom they left three thousand and brought the rest to the island.

At dawn, the people marched from the various parts of Jarbah, led by Sheikh Abu Zakariyya and his children, God protect them. All the people joined him. The [Spaniards] moved their fleet as they had done the first time, and so the sheikh turned with his followers to the aforementioned castle, where he and his followers lay in waiting. On Friday night, which is a feast in heaven, a feast on earth, and a feast for all male and female Muslims, people started heartening each other toward jihad, asking forgiveness and repentance of God. They also started reconciling themselves with those around them, weeping for the sins of their past. Their hearts so melted that they forgave each other for all misdeeds, and stayed up that night reciting the Qur'an, *dhikr*, and invoking God's forgiveness. It is reported that when the inhabitants of the aforementioned mountain heard of the arrival of the Christians to the island, they communicated with each other, and assembled together [in the mosque of Tala in Nafusa Mountain]. They met that night, and did what the others had done earlier.

Toward the end of the night, the Muslims heard the sound of military equipment from the Christian side. They realized that they would be attacking in the morning. They grew stronger in their determination, repenting their past sins, thinking that they were going to meet their God. They remained in their position, as the drums were beating, and the people rousing each other, asking forgiveness, and seeking reconciliation. Meanwhile, the sheikh's cavalry was spying on the Christians and bringing back reports. At noon of the next day, news was confirmed that the Christians were marching toward the Muslims. The distance between the two groups was about six miles. The Muslims lined up in a single file and then the sheikh, God protect him and his children, the other inhabitants [of the mountain], the cavalry, and the leaders walked down the line, organizing the fighters, and ordering them to resist and not to fear, for God almighty says: "How many a small company has overcome a large company by permission of Allah. And Allah is with the patient" [2:249].

The Muslims straightened their lines. Those inside the lines could not see those to their left or to their right because the ground was uneven, the trees were many, and the file was long. It was the time of the first [of the day's] prayers: some prayed but others did not because this was an exigency. Then the enemies of God attacked the [Muslim] file from the east, and when the two armies met, the Christians sent their cavalry, with the shining iron armor that they wore, the glittering smoke of gunpowder, and the resounding rifles. Upon seeing them, the Muslims grew more zealous to fight with courage and daring. They called upon each other to pray on the Prophet, peace be upon him, and loudly proclaimed their religion of Islam, and invoked the holy men, the Qur'an, and the blessing of the Ibadite School, which became manifest in every spot.[67] They attacked [the Spaniards] in one foray. When they reached them, and the enemies of God had lined themselves behind each other, God granted the Muslims to rout the first line and to kill a large number of soldiers. The next line moved forward, and there was some hesitation on the part of the Muslims. But then they attacked in unison, and when the Spaniards heard the sound of the rifles, the majority of them became terrified and fled, most of them not knowing how God had enabled the Muslims to prevail over their enemies, or what their [Spaniards'] location was. The Christians disappeared and the Muslims could not see them. As they were in this condition, either fighting or fleeing, a group of Muslims led by Sheikh

Abu Rabīʿ Suleyman, son of Sheikh Abu Zakariyya, intercepted the fleeing Christians and prevented them from reaching the sea.

When the two armies assessed the situation, they grew more ardent and determined to fight. Most of the fleeing Christians returned but met with humiliation, after which they fled all together. The Muslim cavalry followed on their heels, killing them until they reached the sea. They killed a large number of them in the water, and the Muslims lost twenty and some men; unnumbered was the Christian loss. It was rumored that they lost more than twenty thousand, in battle and at sea. Almighty God, having determined by His will and blessing that they should perish, those of their army who survived spent the night, I mean Saturday night, on the shore, near their ships. They found no alternative but to board their ships. It was said that their captain, who was their commander, forbade them from fleeing; others have said that they were suffering from fatigue and thirst. They stayed there for a part of the night until the blessing of the [Ibadite] School arose and a shout was heard. They thought that the Muslims were about to attack them there. But the Muslims had no intention of doing so. The [Spaniards] hurled themselves into the sea, where they drowned, after which their corpses were washed ashore. Also, God in His goodness and bounty sent them a wind that confined them to the river mouth from where they could not leave. They lost about eighteen of their ships, it was said, both small and large. Meanwhile, every night, [Muslim] captives escaped from among them and brought news to the Muslims. Later, the Muslims seized some of the ships that had been lost with all the provisions and moneys on board. The sea ate the rest of the ships, wherein died many Christians and captives. The Muslims took all the gear of the casualties, most of them having drowned, consisting of clothing that was embroidered with gold and silver, in Muslim and non-Muslim fashion. The booty was immeasurable: "That is the bounty of Allah which He gives to whom He wills, and Allah is the possessor of great bounty" [57:21].

Then, God destroy them, they sailed out of the river mouth on Thursday night, the last night of Jamadi al-Awal [should be Saturday, August 31, 1510]. A wind rose and destroyed other ships than those that had earlier been sunk. The fleet scattered, may God never bring it together again. Most [of the Spaniards] went to Tripoli, but others went onto the African shore, trying to return to their countries. May God make this the last time we see them. And the proof of the blessing of the [Ibadite] School is that the previous invocation has been answered in the wind that God sent at them, a wind out of season, at the beginning of Ishtanbar in the Spanish months. The river mouth was always a safe haven for ships, and whenever the sea rose, whatever ship entered it did not fear its wrath. But you have heard what the sea did to the ships of those infidels inside the river mouth: “And that is not difficult for Allah” [14:20].

And so, dear brothers, strive to abide by the teachings of your [Ibadite] School, for you will be protected by God as long as you do so. And fill your mosques with the call to prayer, the community prayer, the teaching of boys, the reciting of the Qur’an, and other activities. Do not cease from invoking God and seeking refuge in Him so He will protect you and keep evil away from you and all Muslims. Repent and seek forgiveness, for God almighty has said: “Seek forgiveness of your Lord and repent to Him [and] He will let you enjoy a good provision for a specified term” [11:3]. And [the Prophet] Hūd said: “And O my people, ask forgiveness of your Lord and then repent to Him. He will send [rain from] the sky upon you in showers and increase you in strength [added] to your strength” [11:52]. Beware of heedlessness [to God] because then will befall you what has befallen the heedless. And promise each other to persevere in patience, truth, and mercy. For God is the God of rectitude and of forgiveness. Peace.

11B

1685: Bombardment of Tripoli, Libya, by the French Fleet, in Ahmad ibn Khaled al-Nasiri, Talʿat al-Mushtari, 2:28–30.

The Ottoman iyala*/regency of Tripoli was a small, poor, not very agricultural area of North Africa, trying to build its commercial and entrepreneurial fleet. Like their fellow North Africans, and along with the Maltese, the Neapolitans, the English, the French, and other Euro-Christians, the Libyans were involved in both pillage and honest exchange, mayhem and hard-nosed business. In 1685 the French fleet bombarded Tripoli as the British fleet had bombed it ten years earlier, and as Algiers had been bombarded in 1683 and would be bombarded again in 1685 and 1688 by the French fleet. The European superpowers of the Mediterranean were intent on halting the development of North African navies and preventing the countries from building sustainable commercial fleets that could rival them in trade, maritime travel, and defense. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, North Africans would not have fleets about which either Britain or France would have to worry. The bombardment of Tripoli was witnessed by Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Nasir, a Moroccan Sufi who was on his way to the pilgrimage. He was in the Libyan port city in April 1685. The account survived in oral tradition and manuscript until it was published in lithograph in Fez in A.H.310/1888 by the Saletian jurist Ahmad ibn Khaled al-Nasiri in* Talʿat al-Mushtari fi al-Nasab al-Ja’fari. *As in other accounts about defeat at the hands of Europeans,* *Magharibi writers always liked to frame their descriptions in a defiant and victorious tone. But the defeat is obvious.*

He said in his travelogue:

Upon reaching Tripoli, we stayed at the hostel used by pilgrims near the sea coast.

Three enemy ships at first appeared to us in the horizon, and then others followed on that same day until the number rose to twenty-two. The ships remained at sea for the rest of Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. The people in the city became terrified and had no clear idea what to do. They started removing their possessions to the countryside, and transporting their women and families to Al-Manchia. When we saw what they were doing, we spoke to their notables, telling them that such flight was unbefitting as it showed them to be terrified and cowardly before the infidel foe. I said to them: “This is why the foe dares to attack you.” They replied: “We are not cowards. But we have no choice against the bombs they throw at us. When a bomb falls on something, it is as if that thing had not been. It flattens and destroys it.”

The Muslims started guarding the coast at night. We joined them on our horses, declaring with them the witness [to God], raising our voices that “God is Great,” and invoking God’s blessing on the Prophet, bearer of His message. After the evening prayer on Saturday, the infidels, may God destroy them, began hurling their bombs from their cannons. We saw what we had never seen, and heard what we had never heard.

First you saw the powder lighting up from the mouth of the cursed cannon; then a flaming ball, brighter than a shooting star, rose in the air. Immediately, they would fire another, which would rise even higher than the first. As it turned and swooped down, it produced a deafening sound and then exploded, spreading [shrapnel] all around. If the bomb fell on a building, it demolished it; on level ground, it dug a crater; on a [water] tank or an upper room, it pulverized it; on a tree, it uprooted or burned it. Sometimes the bomb remained in the ground for a while and then exploded, producing a sound more terrifying than the first. Whenever their cannons fired a bomb, we thought it was going to hit us. Sometimes the bomb fell near us, sometimes it passed above us; more often it fell inside the city or in the sea outside the city walls. All that night we raised our helpless hands in despair to God almighty, our eyes unable to sleep.

They continued firing bombs all through the night until dawn of the following day. They did not halt for a single hour. Some jurists told me that they had fired a thousand bombs. When we saw the terrifying devastation, cowering as we were with children, mothers, and pregnant women, we feared they would miscarry, and so we moved to some of the sheltered fields. The pilgrims settled there and we sent our wives and women into houses.

Then the bombardment stopped. We prayed the evening prayer of that day, but then they resumed their bombardment. They fired a salvo, but God sent upon them windy rain that subverted their cursed bombs and extinguished the fuses. Then they started again and continued from sunrise to midmorning. At noon the enemy ships crept up to the harbor. The defenders in the two towers facing the sea tried to repel them—towers that were always manned, in peace as in war. They shot at them [the French] with cannons and destroyed a small boat, as a result of which they fled. But then they returned and as they landed, people started screaming and crying, running in confusion and fear. The Muslims hurried from every direction in great numbers, on foot and on horseback, each with whatever weapon he could find. And then the faces of the heroes glowed as they charged into the fray, reddening their blades until the infidels were frightened away from the harbor. The Muslims nearly continued chasing them into the water, the most ferocious being the pilgrims. Had it not been for the sea, God would have shown them what the Muslims could do—each of the Muslims having written his will and prepared for martyrdom.

As thousands of the Muslims gathered together, the infidels refrained from approaching the coast. Then peace was declared between them and the inhabitants of the city: they exchanged captives and the Muslims paid them two hundred thousand riyals, which they had earlier taken from them at sea as booty. The Christians disembarked and entered the city to buy provisions, their word haughty over the Muslims because the prince of the city, by origin an *ʿilj*/ruffian, had been ordered by the Ottoman [pasha to announce] that anyone who harmed them, even by word, would be severely punished. The infidels felt confident over the Muslims, who endured patiently.

Half a century later the French launched another attack. In a "Narrative of what passed at Tripoly in Barbary upon the French Squadron" in July 1728 (SP 71/22/Part III, 123–137), an anonymous English writer reported that the pasha refused to pay the French fifty thousand dollars "for past Hostilitys and Damages," having "already formerly given them a Cargoe of Corn." He was willing to "add now more thereto a parcel of oyll." Despite the inability of the pasha to pay up, not having the kind of cash that the French demanded, on Tuesday, December 20, the French fleet began bombardment of the town "and continued all night, and until about 9 a clock in the morning wch ceas'd," having shot 400 bombs. On Wednesday night the French resumed their bombing, hurling 290 bombs; on Thursday night, 300 *bombs; on Friday night, 300 bombs; and on Saturday night, 300 bombs. On Christmas Sunday, the bombardment ceased, but resumed on the 26th, with 250 bombs. Convinced that the pasha could not pay up, which had been apparent all along, the squadron sailed off on December 29, leaving the pasha's castle along with more than five hundred houses completely destroyed.*

12

1681–1691: Battle Accounts, in Taqayīd Tarikhiyah, *Rabat Royal Library,* MS *12352.*

While historians and chroniclers such as al-Hilati recalled the distant past, the taqayīd *recorded events in recent times.*

The taqayīd *(s.* taqyīd, *from the verb* qayyada, *to report, to record) were accounts of battles, victories, strategies, and casualties. Many have survived, showing that there was a popular written medium in which information about major events was disseminated. The* taqayīd *were hastily written, as the handwriting in the examples that follow is rather poor. The examples also show how much overlap and repetition there was: evidently, accounts were written and rewritten and then circulated in order to celebrate specific heroes and warriors.*

These and the other taqayīd *show that their main focus was war with the Euro-Christians. Below, the Qaʾid/Commander Muhammad ibn Masʿūd was the central figure, celebrated for his dedicated struggle against the Spanish-controlled presidio of Melilla. The Spanish bastion was a thorn in the Moroccan side, and numerous attempts were made to reconquer it, but to no avail. The* taqayīd *do not always provide a date of either the episodes described or the composition. They are more about the warriors and the bastions against which Muslims fought—conveying perhaps the ongoing timelessness of the confrontation with the Euro-Christian invaders. Typical of Arabic writings, they are very precise about the names of the protagonists, where they came from, what their ancestry was, and the name of the ruler whom they served. The* taqayīd *were part of the process by which national allegiance to a specific ruler or dynasty was forged. At the same time, they were a record of the struggle against the invaders in the Moroccan war of liberation.*

I.

One day, the Qa'id Muhammad ibn Masʿūd mounted his horse, known as al-Jarid, which the Prince of the Faithful, Ismaʿil ibn ʿAli al-Sharīf, had given him. The horse had been given to the prince as a present from the people of Sus. Ibn Masʿūd rode out with thirty-nine horse men and thirty footmen and attacked the city of Melilla. Goats, cows, sheep, and other cattle were grazing peacefully near the city as he descended on them, along with his men who had given themselves to the cause of God. The people inside the fort had thought themselves safe. The attackers lay waiting in the shadow of the big tower and then slithered between the other towers, successfully deceiving the infidels. The Qa'id ʿOmar and his men approached the city and seized all the goats and cows from near the city gate and drove the cattle away. The infidels shot bullets at them from inside the city and the towers, while others gave chase. The Ghazi [raider] ʿOmar ibn Muhammad owned an excellent horse, just like his father's, which they shot and killed. He turned back against the infidels and attacked two of them, seizing the bridle of a horse away from them. They shot a bullet at his father, the *ghazi*, which severed the foot of the aforementioned horse, but it continued to limp on three. But then they shot another bullet into the neck of the aforementioned horse. They killed the horse of the *talib*[68] Ahmad ibn Masʿūd and also the brother (from the same mother) of the Qa'id Muhammad, Yahya ibn Masʿūd, a young man. Still, they did not leave a single head of cattle until they reached safety and divided the booty according to the stipulations of *sharīʿah*. They then entered their fort, having increased their possessions. The aforementioned *qa'id* participated in battles other than what we have reported: there is no power nor strength except in God almighty and great, and God's prayer and peace on our master Muhammad and his kin and companions.

II.

Praise be to God and God's prayer on our master Muhammad and his kin. This is the record [*taqyīd*] of what we have seen of the courageous *ghazi*, Muhammad ibn Saʿīd al-Qaytūni, son of the uncle of the Qa'id Muhammd ibn Masʿūd. He led fifty horse men who lay near the fort of Melilla, may God destroy it and return it to the house of Islam. He was persevering by day and night, and never relaxing or relenting, and whenever he found failure among the infidels, he told the son of his uncle, the aforementioned *qa'id*, to waylay them until he defeated them in the aforementioned fort during the lifetime of the aforementioned *qa'id*. He, may God be pleased with him, never exhibited deception or self-indulgence and turned the infidels inside the fort into mice, stealing grass near the gate of their fort and fleeing back. This is what we saw on the sixth of Muharram. May God reveal to us His goodness and protect us from evil. Amen. Prayer and peace on our master

Muhammad and his kin. He who witnessed has written this, which was corrected by Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Qasim ibn al-Qadi, may God be kind to him in both worlds. Amen, Amen.

III.

Praise be to God alone. God's prayer on our master Muhammad and his kin. The *ghazwa*[69] to destroy the Aqamqum Tower during the reign of Mulay al-Rashīd,[70] may God have mercy on him and us, at the hand of their *qai'd*, the *talib* Bilqasim al-Shawi. Qai'd Muhammad was head of twenty horse men of the best horse in the *ribat*, and they all concurred one day that there was no other jihad for them except to destroy the aforementioned tower and to take those inside it captive. Since they belonged to five tribes, they built five ladders, each tribe carrying its own, and advanced and laid siege to the tower. Throughout the night, they fought ferociously, striking and being struck at from the fort. Some burrowed [under the wall] while others protected them from falling stones with the aforementioned ladders, until they were able to go under the wall. They stood the ladders against the tower and then collected grass and shrubs and stacked them near the base of the tower. They then set fire and burned those who were fighting against God, and none cared for them. Whoever of the Muslims was killed, Qa'id Muhammad carried him on his back and took him to the Muslim army. The number of those who were killed was fourteen, while those who were wounded were seventy-five. The imam witnessed the fighting, and throughout the night, he incited ceaselessly against the tower until God gave them victory at dawn. A Christian was burned and was hit and fell from above the tower to its base. Qai'd Muhammad, with the Muqaddam Ammuhammad ibn Suleyman Livorn, seized him, and the Muslims took that as a propitious sign. They then broke into the tower and took captive ten of the infidels and killed three of them. The date was 1079 [1668].

IV

Praise be to God who defeated all who blasphemed with the Light

Our master Muhammad, the prophet of mercy, and the intercessor of the people, God's prayer on him … [blank]

And his [prophet's] obedient companions and pure and pious wives, mothers of the believers … [blank]

Thus: The purpose of this *taqyīd* is to record what has been told about the incursions between … [blank]

The fort of Melilla, may God return it to Islam and clear the [infidel] people from it during the reign of the Prince of the Faithful, victorious and supported by God, our Mulay Ismaʿil ibn ʿAli al-Sharīf, may God make him victorious and strengthen his rule and embolden Muslims by him and humiliate the infidels. Qa'id Muhammad ibn Masʿūd al-Qaytūni al-Qaliʿ led attacks in his struggle for the cause of God: he humiliated his enemies, seeking glory for his religion, and vindicating the oppressed and helping all who persevered in jihad. With his person, possessions, and authority, he showed mercy to the orphans and the poor, to jurists and students and neighbors. He was benevolent to those who treated him well, and forgave those who oppressed him, fulfilling the commands of the Prince of the Faithful, as in the words of the almighty: O you who believe, obey God and the Prophet and those above you.

He was a protector to those who sought him, and a lion to his tribes—as in the attack on the tower built with metal and lime and gravel. The tower overlooked the sea to the right of the fort. He led his army, the people of Qlūʿ, in the month of Rajab in the year 1090 [August 1679] soon after the men in the *ribat* began digging to the south of the aforementioned tower, a distance of an arrow shot between the tunnel and the tower. He then went out with great joy, hopeful that one of them would come down to confront him. He went near the seashore, near the Eel Well, as the tunnel grew bigger. The people inside the fort, may God destroy them, fired at the Muslims rounds of bullets. The firing also came from the other towers and continued for two nights after the Muslims had begun operations. In those two nights, they inflicted harm on the Muslims with their bullets, might, and ferocity. A new plan was devised whereupon the [Muslims] dug a tunnel between the tower and the fort and protected themselves with baskets. Thirty men entered the tunnel and lay there patiently, preventing anyone from reaching the fort to help those inside escape. They also prevented ships at sea from reaching the fort by striking at them. In the first two nights, Muhammad Pasha al-Livroni[71] was killed, while Muhammad ibn Suleyman al-Livroni lost his leg …

13

1590–1654: Euro-Tunisian Piracy, in Ibn Abi Dinar, Kitab al-Mu'nis fī Akhbar Ifrīqiyah wa-Tūnis, *190–202.*

Little is known about Muhammad bin Abi al-Qasim al-Raʿīni al-Qayrawani, known as Ibn Abi Dinar, except for what appears in his book. He was born in Qayrawan and then moved to Tunis, where he acquired his education. He served as a judge in Susa and continued in Qayrawan during the reigns of Beys Murad II and Ali Bey. He wrote his *account during the rule of the dey, Muhamad Tabaq (reg. July 1677–October 1682). The last entry refers to 1681. Ibn Abi Dinar died sometime after 1692.*[72]

In writing the history of Tunis, Ibn Abi Dinar used numerous Arabic sources, but in his history of the first century of Ottoman rule and the beginning of the rule of the deys and the beys, he relied on personal information and oral accounts narrated to him by people who had taken part in events, or by the descendants of those who had, such as "some inhabitants of Tunis," or "a man who got the information from an eyewitness." Ibn Abi Dinar also turned to old people for their recollections, often placing two different accounts together before suggesting one, but then concluding with "God knows." He also relied on taqayīd. *The most accurate unit in his account was about the Ottoman period and the rule of the deys, which he had witnessed personally. In that unit, he did not apply much critical acumen, but described events chronologically and mentioned achievements, especially in building, architecture, and city expansion, which were still around in his day.*

The account below shows the extent of the commercial, diplomatic, and piratical interactions between the people of Tunis/ia and the Christian Mediterranean. Ibn Abi Dinar's is the only contemporary history of Tunisia in the early modern period, and although it has its historiographical failures, it provides an informative overview of Muslim-Christian relations from the perspective of a Muslim scholar.

In 1007 [1598], ʿUthman became the first dey to assume complete control. He began his term of office with firm authority and control. He was a courageous man and took personal charge of matters. If he heard that Turks were stealing the produce from some orchards in the outskirts, he would ride out with his army against them until he subdued them. Before he came to power, the orchard owners, upon having a good harvest, would ask members of the council to send them protection against the soldiers who tried to rob them, and they would send to each site a *saqiji*[73] and give him a salary. ʿUthman discontinued that practice and started protecting them himself, as a result of which the people learned to fear him. He also instituted the custom where the *saqiji* took two *fils* from each vendor in the souks. The malefactors were constrained from robbing orchards and fields. He performed the duties of his rule efficiently, and none opposed him. Whenever he said something, none contradicted him. They tried to assassinate him many times, but failed because informers alerted him and he would capture and slaughter the plotters. When he took charge, he expelled the people of Jarbah who were living in Tunis because they were under the rule of the Tripolitans. So he removed them from Tunis.

In his days, sea booty increased indescribably. And in his days, Muhammad Bey, son of Husein Pasha, became famous. He was a sea captain over a number of ships and brought in dazzling booty. Whenever booty arrived, ʿUthman Dey went to Halq al-Wadi, where the booty was sold, bringing great profit to the merchants. In his days, a captain from the land of the Christians laid siege to Halq al-Wadi and blocked all the ships from sailing out. But ʿUthman Bey outtricked him and captured him and jailed him in the fort, where he died. And in his days was the great annihilation/plague, in the year 1013–1014 [1604–1605]. It is recalled among the urban population because three problems arose together—plague, high prices, and change in coinage. The people of Tunis viewed these events as the most disastrous that had ever happened to them since the *cafiz* of wheat was sold for thirty dinars.[74] People viewed these events with great anxiety, but if they knew what we had seen in our days, they would have viewed them as minor matters, since we had seen such an outrageous price rise never heard of in Africa before. The *cafiz* of wheat was sold for many times more, and the measure [of wheat] for half a riyal, so that the price of a *cafiz* reached near one hundred riyals. That price rise took place during the siege of the casbah and the city when the great battle occurred and the city gates were burned down. About which later. There were also other problems.

During the days of ʿUthman Dey, sea booty increased, as we have mentioned, because the Christians were not willing to use large ships. The raiders used to sail in frigates, and big ships like galleys and xebecs and others did not appear except in the days of ʿUthman Dey—and so too in the country of Algeria—where they continue today. ʿUthman himself traveled to two encampments: Jarīd, where he seized the town of Sadada, and the encampment of Sayf. He put the country in order and introduced laws to govern the subjects: they were called the laws of ʿUthman Dey, although now those laws have changed. In the year 1017 [1608], ʿUthman Dey killed Muhammad Bey son of Pasha Hussein because the latter wanted to lead a revolt against him. But ʿUthman found out. Muhammad had conspired with a rebellious group but had told Rajab Saqisly, who informed ʿUthman Dey about the plot. It is said that he lied to them. There is disagreement about why he [Muhammad] was killed. Muhammad Bey warned his followers, so they dispersed and he himself fled toward Africa, but the Bedouins there betrayed and captured him, and then delivered him to ʿUthman. When ʿUthman Dey heard about that, he sent one to kill him before he entered Tunis, for fear of an insurrection. Muahmmad Bey was then twenty-eight years.

The reputation of ʿUthman Dey reached the Christian world. He achieved great gains at sea, the like of which none had ever heard. He was a unique man, God rest his soul and forgive him.

In that and the following year, the Andalusians arrived from the lands of the Christians after the keeper of Spain had expelled them. Their numbers were high, but ʿUthman Dey welcomed them in the country and sent the destitute among them to be helped by the people. He granted them permission to settle wherever they wanted, so they bought lands and built on them, and spread themselves into various regions, as a result of which the whole country prospered. Among their famous cities are Suleyman, Bali, Niyanwa, Qirinbalia, Turki, al-Jadida, Zaghouan, Tabarba, Quraish al-Wad, Majaz al-Bab, Sluqiyya, Testour (which is one of the greatest and most prosperous), al-Aliya, al-Qalʿa, and others. They are more than twenty cities. They now have great cities where they planted vines, olive trees, orchards, and leveled roads for travelers' coaches. They are now considered as natives to the land. When ʿUthman Dey finished what he wanted to accomplish, he died, meeting with what all have met, and joined his God in 1019 [1610]. His issue have continued until today.

Yusuf Dey succeeded him [September 1610–December 1637], the first dey to come to power without opposition. During his life, ʿUthman Dey had nominated him and wedded him to his daughter. But the marriage was never consummated. During his [ʿUthman's] illness, he was asked who was to succeed him, and he replied: "The one in power, ʿAjam Dey (who was then away in the city of Baja because he was a man of honor). But if you want peace of mind, promote Yusuf now because he is compassionate." He had intended for him to succeed him because he was his son-in-law. So when ʿUthman died, the people sent a messenger to ʿAjam and waited for the decision in the house of ʿUthman Dey. As they were waiting, ʿAli Thabit, who was one of the associates of Yusuf, came upon them. When he saw the crowd, he courageously walked up and kissed the hand of Yusuf Dey and congratulated him, after which each and every one did the same. The top military officers swore allegiance to him and marched with him to the casbah and enthroned him, as was their custom. The people of all classes followed suit and swore allegiance to him. And so it all happened. On the following day, ʿAjam returned from Baja and discovered that he was late, and so could not but swear allegiance to Yusuf Dey and honor him thereafter.

ʿAli Thabit started running the affairs of the kingdom. He dissuaded Yusuf Dey from marrying the daughter of ʿUthman Dey and advised him to marry a woman from among the daughters of the Christian converts. He was afraid that if he married one of the daughters of ʿUthman Dey, and their grandfather being al-Zahani, he [Yusuf] would become a tyrant. And so it happened. Yusuf took control, and with the help of his grandfather, he attained what none had ever attained, as will be shown below. In the days of Yusuf Dey, the country was built up and the fleet enlarged. He was fond of sending ships to raid at sea, so much so that their number reached fifteen large ships. In his days, the sea captains increased and their ships became fearsome and famous. Some of the greatest sea captains were Captain Samson and Captain Wardiyya. They had been Christians and sailed during his days while still Christian, but then they converted to Islam and gained great fame at sea.[75] The times helped Yusuf Dey by sending him large amounts of sea booty and establishing peace in his dominions. Many parts of the city were built up during his time, such as the Turks' Market, which was designed as it still is today. The area had been quite different, but the market became one of the finest in Tunis. He also built the famous mosque named after him and appointed its imam from among the Hanafites.[76] He designated charitable foundations to support the muezzins, readers, and servants, as a result of which the mosque is one of the best. Nearby, he built a school also named after him, in which there were numerous dormitories for its residents and a teacher who was also a Hanafite. Yusuf Dey earmarked wages for the residents and the servants, ensuring loaves of bread to each of the muezzins, the imam, and the students. But all this has now disappeared.

He also built the basin for ritual ablution, which is south of the café, and which all people use. So too the café north of the basin, which is one of the finest. He made it a recipient of foundation funds. He built the market of the saddle makers, one of the finest among the markets; also the *hammam* near the aforementioned market, along with numerous *funduq*s for the *lawand* community,[77] and the market where slaves from the Sudan and elsewhere are sold. It is known as the *baraka*/blessing and is one of the most beautiful markets. He opened the Gate of the Girls, which had been sealed, and he installed a gate and numerous shops so that it is one of the busiest of markets. Near it he built a market for woven products. In the past those markets used to be very prosperous, but have now disappeared, and nothing of them remains except their ruins. That whole area was built up, from the Street of Hammūda to the Gate of the Girls, which had been so dilapidated that the passerby used to fear for his life even in the daytime. Now it is heavily populated and is one of the most attractive neighborhoods in Tunis.

Many are his good deeds that are still remembered. One of his greatest charitable deeds and one for which he is famous was to bring potable water to the Hinaya region and distribute the water in the city in various locations, such as the Decorated Cupola south of the minaret adjacent to the Grand Mosque, the entrance to the Turks'

Market, and other places. People benefited from this water for quite some time, but now everything has been destroyed since people have not cared and rulers have ignored it. There is no strength or might except in God. Also, one of his charitable deeds was to build the wondrous bridge on the river Majrada, near Tabarba. It is one of the finest bridges and is now one of the parks most frequented by the populace. During his lifetime, a tower stood there, to which his successor, the youthful Nasr Agha, added some construction, and then his son the late Ahmad Cheleby became attached to it and enlarged it, after which his grandson, Abu Hasan ʿAli Bey, further enlarged it so much so that people point to it as a great example. It is perfect in beauty, about which there will be further explanation. To earn merit, he built water cisterns in many regions in various waterless locations, and brought water from far away for the use of travelers. He gave many alms, including five riyals to each chanter on the night celebrating the honorable birthday [of the Prophet], and even if the chanter was incapacitated during the year, he would go that evening to receive what was designated, may God reward him for his good deed.

A man who was an ornament of Yusuf Dey's rule, who performed charitable deeds and supported his [Yusuf's] views, upon rising and sitting, was the late Hajj ʿAli Thabit, may he find mercy in God's mercy. He was, God have mercy on him, one of the blessings of Yusuf Dey. He was charitable to the poor and is so well known among the Tunisians that he needs no introduction. One of his benefactions was to expand the mosque near his house inside the Gate of the Island and to designate numerous charitable foundations to support it. He also built the mosque outside the aforementioned gate along with the ablution basins in the Turks' Market, which were most beautiful and serviceable to the stranger. He designated charitable foundations to support those who served there, and they were very beautiful. Some of his grandchildren, however, took possession of them and ordered their destruction. There is so much about him to fill a tome. He died, God rest his soul, in the year 1041 [1631–1632]. He used to encourage Yusuf Dey to perform good deeds. And if we list the benefactions of Yusuf Dey, we would spend a long time.

In his days, in 1022 [1613], there was unrest in Algiers, but no fighting took place. Also in his days was the great plague that Tunisians call the plague of Sīdi Abu al-Ghaith, because it was during that plague that the sheikh died, God be pleased with him and benefit us. The plague was in the year 1030–1031 and caused the death of multitudes. And in his days, in 1034 [1625], two Maltese galleons were seized and brought to Tunis. The city celebrated their seizure. In 1037 [1628], the great battle between the armies of Algiers and of Tunis took place, in which large numbers were killed. It happened in the month of

Ramadan in the aforementioned year. The Algerians had been brought in by Sheikh Thabit ibn Shannūf, who encouraged them to invade the country. When the two armies met, the Algerian army lost on the first day and sought a truce. But then the Bedouins defected, most of whom were the sons of Saʿid, so Tunis fell, and the Bedouins looted and pillaged the country. Some dignitaries from the country, such as Sheikh Taj al-ʿArifīn al-ʿUthmani, Sheikh Ibrahim al-Ghiryani, and Sheikh Mustafa, leader of the Andalusians, and others negotiated a truce between the two parties. And in the year 1038 [1629], the battle of Kaf took place after Benu Shannūf revolted. Murad Bey faced all these dangers, but he was a cunning man. During that time, the Christians seized two galleons belonging to the people of Tunis.

In 1041 [1631–1632], Hajj ’Ali Thabit died, after which the position of pasha was introduced, which was taken up by Murad Bey.[78] In the year after, some of the sons of Saʿid were seized and impaled in the marketplace, showing the deviousness of Muhammad Bey. In the time of Yusuf Dey, a section of the city was opened after seven years, and he continued, God rest his soul, [in his good deeds] until he went to his rest in God, ever thanked by the people. He loved hunting and used to go out into the desert and spend days, hunting with the Bedouins. He had no rival in the land. He died old on the night of Friday 23 Rajab in the year 1047 [December 10, 1637] and was buried in his mosque which is named after him. His son built there a very elegant tombstone, God have mercy on such a generous soul, and may He reward it with what it merited.

Among them was Usta Murad ibn ’Abdallah, who was one of the converts [from Christianity]. He was proclaimed on the morning in which Yusuf Dey died. All agreed on the choice, including Mami, one of the most powerful of Yusuf’s [white] *mamluk*/slaves. Mami believed that he had more right to the succession than others but feared that the army would not support him. He decided to support Usta Murad, so that if they accepted him, he would plot to unseat him and seize control. But Usta Murad was quicker and when he assumed power exiled him to Zaghouan, where he was killed. When he took control, he showed bold determination, and the first thing he ordered was to shut down the wineshops on the streets, which were many. He also terminated [the agreement with the French in] the Bastion, suspended the sale of wheat that had been sold there [to the French], as well as the sale of flour and semolina. He turned to the affairs of the Muslims in the best of manners. The loaf of bread that was sold for one *nasiri* weighed thirty-six *wiqiya*,[79] and so, too, in his time, the *rotl* of meat, even in the winter season. The people enjoyed their best times. He also ordered the removal of rubbish outside the Sea Gate, which had before been piled up like mountains. He had the inhabitants of Tunis and its two outskirts alternate in service, and every day he used to check on progress with his followers.

In the first year of his reign, eight galleons of Algiers came to Tunis and sailed with eight [galleons] of Tunis to support the [Ottoman] sultan in his war of Crete. They were cornered by the Venetian fleet in a spot from which they could not escape. So the crew decided to abandon the ships with their Christian slaves, and then set fire to all the ships and went by land to Constantinople, where the sultan graced them with some of his galleons, after which they returned to their countries. This episode took place in 1048 [1638].[80] In that year, news arrived that the sultan had conquered Baghdad, so the city celebrated for seven days, and the decorations were the finest that had been seen in Tunis.

News came of the death of Sultan Murad and the assumption to the throne of his brother, Sultan Ibrahīm.[81]

The days of Usta Murad were some of the best. At one point, a group plotted against him, but he discovered them and killed many of them, while the rest fled. He had great authority and clout and was the first to force the sea commanders to meet with him every evening to do justice to people's complaints. This custom had not been practiced by his predecessors. During his time, the tower in Ghar al-Milh was built by the master builder Musa. He also ordered the building of a city there and encouraged people to settle it, lending them money for construction and other needs. So a community of Andalusians and others settled it, which is why it is one of the most beautiful of harbors in the lands of Islam. Before that, that location was a hiding place for Christians [pirates], but as a result, their danger declined. That was one of his achievements. In his days, the *cafiz* of wheat was sold for four *nasiri* dinars, while the waterskin of oil was sold for two. He prohibited the export of wheat to the lands of the Christians. His authority so prevailed in the hearts of both the army and the common people that the non-Muslim was never abused or ill-treated. His word was final and none contradicted him, not even his son. He had served at sea and had been a captain and had attained happiness that none had attained before him. His days at sea were some of the most glorious, as were his days as ruler of Tunis—until he returned to God in the year 1050 [1640], may God almighty have a thousand mercies on him.

Ahmad Khūja—known as Uzun Khūja—assumed command after him, with the agreement of the army [reg. July 1640–July 1647]. No two disagreed about him since he had been foremost and was the *khūja* [master scribe] of the *diwan*. He treated people kindly and cordially, especially the soldiers' orphans, to whom he was helpful and compassionate. Thus people's hearts leaned toward him and they supported him. He started his reign with strength and nobility, collecting large amounts of money. At the beginning of his reign, Maltese galleons attacked Halq al-Wadi and towed away numerous ships, including one belonging to Bu Shashiyya. They burned other ships and wrought much havoc, without being repulsed by the tower there.[82] As a result, he ordered the building of another tower to protect the harbor. In those days occurred the excessive price increase the like of which none had heard of before. Muhammad Pasha and Ahmad Cheleby, God rest their souls, performed numerous charitable deeds, distributing alms of loaves of bread to the needy on a daily basis. People jostled each other during the distribution, and it is possible that some died from among the crowd, near the Sufi lodge of Sheikh al-Jalīzi. The prices of wheat and barley were very high, but that continued for only a short while. God be praised looked down on His worshippers and the period of difficulty ended. The following year was of great abundance and people found mercy. At the beginning of his reign, there was a financial conflict between the late Muhammad Pasha and Suleyman Bey. Suleyman owed money and so in its place, Muhammad Pasha took a galleon and other ships that were moored in Ras al-Tabiyeh. He then gave everything to Ahmad Khūja, showing thereby the generosity of the aforementioned pasha.

In the year 1053 [1643], the great plague began which lasted for seven years.

In the year 1055 [1645], the war of Candia began. The sultanic orders came for military and naval assistance to the sultan, so Ahmad Khīja deployed troops and taxed the people of the city and the two outskirts for money to arm them. He selected the groups that were to leave, giving each man among them thirty crowns. He also sent food supplies and baskets in the ships, and again, in the following year, but not thereafter. In his days, Muhammad Pasha grew strong and started dispatching military columns against the Bedouins and abased them. In his days, Suleyman Bey died and the pasha assumed sole control over his country, without a rival. As a result of some miscreants, a quarrel broke out between him and Ahmad Khīja, but God saved him from the evildoing of the miscreant, and he prevailed and had him killed in the most shameful manner. God gave him vengeance over him, his name being Hamida Ashūr. Conditions stabilized for Ahmad Pasha, and his soldiers so obeyed him that when he called them up to Ghar al-Milh in a situation that is too lengthy to describe, it was no more than an hour into the day before the soldiers marched out, leaving none behind in the city. Such was the power of his command. That situation occurred near his time of death, for he did not live for more than a few days and fell sick and died. His death was in the year 1057 [1647].

After him, Hajj Muhammad Laz took over [July 1647–September 1653], on the morning in which Ahmad Khūja died. A group of dignitaries pledged allegiance to him, in the roofed gallery of Ahmad Khūja. Then they led him to the casbah, and he sat at the entrance, where they again pledged allegiance to him. He lived inside the fort, but every evening he used to sit near the entrance to preside over decisions. Later he moved to a house adjacent to the burial ground of Sheikh Ibn Khrisan. At the beginning of his reign occurred the grand banquet the like of which none had heard of before in the Maghrib. It was the banquet offered by the late Muhammad Pasha for his son the late Murad Bey to celebrate the latter's marriage to the freeborn and chaste daughter of the late Yusuf Dey, may God have mercy on them all. In that marriage festivity, he showed a glory of kingship that none had ever shown in these Tunisian lands. The banquet lasted forty days, and the sums of money that were spent were immeasurable. People saw wonders about which none had heard before. Every day, there were tables of succulent food that would be tiring to describe. All the people of the country partook of the foods, and none was turned back. People came from all regions, and so too the singers, and not a night was without gaiety. Every night, numberless lanterns were lit, as well as countless candles, the like of which reason testifies can only occur in the lands of great kings. Those were wonderful days when delegations arrived from every city to celebrate, and poems were recited. Charity and generosity reached all those who deserved them, and the people of Tunis confirmed that they had not heard about such banquets even during the reign of Beni Abi Fahs. It was the first banquet that he offered, may God almighty forgive him with His benevolence and blessing.

In the days of Hajj Muhammad Laz, Bilqasim al-Munsatīri grew strong and coveted the ruleship, having grown insolent. He was assisted by Kishk Murad, the mamluk of Hajj Muhammad Laz, for the aforementioned Laz used to heed his mameluk's opinion. In his days, the possessions of Qai'd ʿAbdallah Abu Khūran were confiscated and he was humiliated after having been the chief commander under the late Muhammad Pasha. And in his days, the aforementioned pasha seized Bilqasim al-Qafsi and confiscated his property and locked him in the lodge of Sheikh Sīdi Abi al-Hasan al-Halfawi. Later, he pardoned him and returned to him all the property that had been taken. He then seized the wealth of Beni Sandal and afflicted them at the hands of his scribe Ahmad al-Manari. ʿAli Hawa, the translator, grew strong, with the help of the pasha, and he felt confident in seeking power, but the pasha found out and decided to destroy him. So he hastened and took poison and died. This was because of the intelligence of the pasha, for none of his enemies escaped him.

At the beginning of the reign of Hajj Muhammad Laz, the great catastrophe occurred which could have turned into an insurrection had not God anticipated it through the decisiveness of the aforementioned pasha. The money changer, Qa'id Dawūd the Jew, did not dispense some of the salaries of the soldiers, as a result of which an uprising nearly occurred among the soldiers. But God calmed it down with the pasha's sagacity. The pasha gave back to each what had been missing from his pay. He used his own money, loading sacks on the necks of men, from his house to the *diwan*. It was an amazing deed, and the people were spared discord. This good deed is considered one of his finest. The days of Hajj Muhammad Laz continued until he returned to God on 23 of Sahwwal in the year 1063 after a long illness. He was buried in the cemetery at the entrance of the fort [September 15, 1653].

After him came Hajj Mustapha Laz. After consultation with the pasha, he was acknowledged leader on the morning of the day in which the aforementioned dey was buried. The pasha was the local dey, so when he was asked who should become dey, he chose Hajj Mustapha Laz. When the soldiers heard his felicitous decision, they pledged their allegiance. On the day after he sat at the entrance of the fort, the aforementioned bey arrived, having been traveling, and gave support to Hajj Mustapha Laz. For there were others whose necks were stretched out to the ruleship, whereupon they gave up and despaired. He settled in government and organized his affairs. The pasha married him off to one of his slaves and gave her a generous dowry, as if she were one of his daughters. He also bestowed on him one of the best houses and was extremely generous to him. At the beginning of his rule, he afflicted Bilqasim al-Munsatīri at the hands of the pasha because he was angry with him for the bad behavior that the latter had shown. He also afflicted Sheikh Mustapha al-Andalusi and seized his property, whereupon the latter fled to Algeria, where he died. He afflicted Sheikh Salih and did to him what he had done to the others.

In the days of Hajj Mustapha, the English fleet attacked Ghar al-Milh and burned a ship outside the port. It laid siege and bombarded the city, whereupon the army was called up to Ghar al-Milh and a famous battle ensued. That was in the year 1065 [1655].

14

BEFORE SEPTEMBER 2, 1706: LETTER OF MULAY ISMAʿIL TO THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT, LES SOURCES … FILALIENNE, ED. BRISSAC, 6:349–354.

In this letter Mulay Isma'il raised an important question to his English recipients. Why would they not help Muslims against Spaniards, seeing that the English were at enmity with Spain but not with Morocco and that English Christianity was different from Spanish Christianity, as it was from Islam? Ismaʿil was very well informed about the Mediterranean situation and eager to advance his goal of conquering Ceuta. He had begun operations against it in 1694 and had maintained the pressure intermittently for over a decade. In May 1706 a battle had been fought in which dozens of Muslims and Christians were killed. A taqyīd writer concluded his brief description by calling on God to return Ceuta to "Dar al-Islam so that they [Spaniards] would not have a place in the lands of the Maghrib."[83] *Ismaʿil knew that unless he had English help, he would not be able to conquer the outpost. And since the English were repeatedly seeking his help against Spain and France during the course of the War of Spanish Succession (which would continue until 1713), so he thought, he could seek their help, too. Ismaʿil was completely baffled as to why the English would not help him, despite his continuous cooperation with them.*

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no strength except in God almighty, one and only, eternal, only He is God. And none to be worshipped in truth but He, your God and the God of your fathers.

From the servant of God, he who relies on Him, who has submitted to Him all his concerns, the Prince of the Faithful, striving in the cause of the God of all the worlds, the Hassani Sharīf, may God help him and be his protector leading him to victory. Amen.

To him who is in charge of the English ships of the sea, and to all the members of that *diwan* from among the English and others, and to all who have there the power to confer, to add, or to delete, and who can elaborate and resolve, peace upon him who seeks guidance and who believes in God and His honorable messengers and His prophets and finds guidance.

Thus: Know that the subject of this Sharīfian letter, which is addressed to you, and written from us to you, is that we learned from one we trust and whose information we credit that you have conquered Gibraltar and settled it by force [August 4, 1704]. After seizing and occupying it, you sent one of your ships of the fleet to Ceuta to negotiate with its people. The gist of your negotiation with the aforementioned inhabitants of Ceuta is the following: in your address to them, you told them that if they remained obedient to the emperor [Joseph I], you would keep them in Ceuta and you would supply and protect them—but only if they continued their enmity and evil toward the Muslims. But if they turned their allegiance to the son of the French

[Philip V], you would declare war on them and expel them from Ceuta and not allow them to remain there. This is the gist of your negotiations with the people of Ceuta. That is why you sent officers of your navy to confer with them.

You know, you English, that there is a peace treaty between you and us [concluded in 1702] and that we have been awaiting your ambassador whom you had planned to send to us and whom we have been expecting to continue negotiations in what is to our mutual interest. This treaty between you and us ensures certain rights and confirms certain issues and restrictions, even though they were not mentioned in the treaty. For, before today, you did not show any interest in or design on the [western] coast that is adjacent to Ceuta from the strait [of Gibraltar]. That is why we did not mention those rights, nor did I say anything about them, directly or indirectly. At that time, we had no interest in the matter, and therefore we did not talk to you about it nor include it in the treaty.

But today, you know that we are laying siege to Ceuta and tightening our grip on it. There are no other nations in it except the Spanish whom you are fighting now [the War of the Spanish Succession]. So if you do not help us now during our peace treaty to conquer and evacuate Ceuta, when will you be helpful? And what is the value or use of a treaty if you do not assist us in this matter? This emperor to whom you want Ceuta to owe allegiance is of one nation, and you are of another, and the Spaniards of another. Your religions are different and quite opposite. Meanwhile, we the Muslims are another nation. So whatever difference in religion there is between you and us also exists between you and other Christian nations, even more. So why do you want Ceuta to belong to the emperor and not to the Muslims with whom you have a peace treaty, and with whom there have been sea and land trade? Your assistance to the Muslims and your support for us to take over Ceuta is by far better and more worthy, nobler and more appropriate, than to keep in it the odoriferous nation of Spain, obedient to the emperor. You will incur heavy expenses in supplying the outpost, as if you do not know how much the Spaniards have spent on the defense of Ceuta, and how many of them have died for it.

By God, if the army of the Arabs had decided and striven with all its might, even without the presence of their king, the Christians of Ceuta would not have remained there until now. But the Arabs will not decide and strive, concur and act, unless their king leads them. Only then will they join and support him, rivaling each other in showing obedience to their king and in winning the approbation of their Creator, and seeking closeness to Him through jihad. But if their king does not lead them, they will not agree among each other, for they are a people of the land, not the sea.

Ceuta is surrounded by the sea from three sides, and the Christians can only attack the Muslims from one side. We are Arabs who do not make much use of that strait, for we are not a people of ships or sails. And we laid siege to Ceuta only because it is near us and because it is in our territory and land. It has belonged to the Muslims since the past, and today, by God, we really do not need it for any particular goal or purpose: the Muslims needed it when the land of al-Andalus was theirs. But today, the Christians have it, so why should Muslims need Ceuta?

Notwithstanding, by God, the Muslims are more deserving of that city than the Spaniards, even if they submit to the emperor, for you are a people of sea and ships, and you are quite familiar with the strait. You should find no harm if Ceuta is inhabited by the Muslims, after it is evacuated, which is our goal and purpose. As you know, if the Spaniards do not supply Ceuta from the coast that is nearest to you, then Malaga and Granada and Oran will, and it will remain in obedience to its present ruler, the son of the French. You are not in possession of that coast, nor do you command it or reside in it. The time is fast approaching when your ships will anchor in our lands and winter in our ports. And if you leave four or eight thousand men in that outpost and return to your country, the Spaniards will certainly not allow them to stay. By God, if you left and stationed forty thousand men, we do not think that the Spaniards will allow them to stay in their country, even a small number.

If you attack a region and leave it without any great gain, what is the value or point of your attack? What will be the return for all the expenses that you will incur and all the difficulties and hindrances you will encounter? We did not ask and invoke you to help us against Ceuta in order to settle Muslims there; what we wanted was for you to vacate it so that neither Christians nor Muslims would be able to settle there. Its evacuation is for your own good, for the harm that Ceuta does to Muslims is merely by being near them and nothing else; that harm is by far less and easier than it is to you who use that strait for your ships many times in the year.

So heed my words and study and understand with your minds; discuss [this letter] in your *diwan* and see how it is logical, useful, and clearly beneficial. Then answer us promptly and firmly and inform us of your view as well as the view of your *diwan* so we can send you our reply and so we can agree on the evacuation and uprooting of Ceuta, God willing.

We await your reply, hoping that it will reach us quickly and without hesitation.

November 1, 1707: Letter from a Captive in France, ed. Jamal Vannan, Nusūs wa Watha'iq fī Tarīkh al-Jaza'ir al-Hadīth, *1500–1830, 144–145.*

Throughout the period under study, France had high numbers of Magharibi captives. The Toulon archives, for instance, list the names of many Algerians who were held captive for lengthy periods of time.[84] *In 1682, there were 1,085 captives in that city; between 1682 and 1692, the French navy bought 152 Muslim captives from Leghorn only.*[85] *In another list of captives held in Paris between 1700 and 1709, we learn about ʿAli, twenty years old, captured in 1678 and freed in 1706; ʿAbdallah, black, son of ʿAli, was captured in 1667 and freed in 1684; and Belkhair, thirty years old, was captured in 1664 and freed in 1700. While these were fortunate enough to return, others were not: Hasan son of Mustapha, forty years old, was captured in 1669 but died in hospital in 1689; Ahmad son of Mubarak was captured in 1664 and died in hospital in 1703; Ahmad, a Morisco, was captured in 1672 and was killed during a naval battle in 1699.*[86]

The letter below was written by one such captive, ʿUthman ibn Qasim, to Count Pontchartrain in 1707. Despite having spent many years in France, the Algerian captive had not been able to wean himself from the flowery rhetoric of his Arabic culture. Many letters show how captives were quite astute about their demands but completely ignorant about how to project themselves in a different culture with its different priorities and codes. Ibn Qasim opened his letter with an extensive and bombastic salutation that would certainly have made his Molière-reading addressees laugh:

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. And the blessings of God on our lord and master the noble Prophet. Praise be to God. Peace on the chosen Prophet. We invoke God with holy prayers, uttered by every sense and organ. To the master of the great masters and the fruit of the tree whose root is firm and whose branch is in the sky.

To the elevated station, sanctuary of the weak and orphaned and bewildered, the Grand Vizier Abu Shatran [Pontchartrain] on whom virtue has cast its powers, of the notable masters and treasure of the honorable masters: Greetings to the greatest of ministers, Abu Shatrīn [*sic*], whom virtues have granted him her reins. Peace be upon you, sīdi, and the mercy of almighty God and His blessings. From the helpless captive who has been blistered by death and whose sorrow has been long, and whose fires of longing have been aflame, who is ever weeping and pleading to God and importuning His worshippers: from ʿUthman ibn Qasim the Algerian, lame-footed, of the ship *al-Walīda.* The miserable and lowly captive approaches your honorable person and merciful compassion, [you] of noble character, look with pity and compassion, God almighty be with you.

Sīdi, let us acquaint you with my story from beginning to end. I am Algerian [*jaza’iri*] and I have nobody left alive of my family. They all died when I was young. I was taken captive while sailing on an Algerian ship and was kept in Spain for two years. I was then released along with 1,500 other captives who were released by Mulay Ismaʿil [in 1690–1691 in exchange for Spanish captives from al-ʿAra’ish]. We stayed in his country in the hope of seeing him and standing before him and he seeing us. After we did that, he bade us farewell and we bade him farewell and each stranger [non-Moroccan] was sent to his country. He gave each of us clothes and food and sent us home. I, *sīdi*, was sent to Algeria, my country, on a ship belonging to Salé. I said to myself that we would definitely meet ships from my country, which I would then board and leave the Saletian ship.

As we were in the Saletian ship, and I the only Algerian, we were taken by a French ship. We had been sailing on the ship of Rayyes Muhammad Maʿīn the Saletian, on our way home.

Today I am a captive in Marseilles, and am fifty years old. I have been a captive for quite some time. This is my story. I am a disabled man, lame-footed, and I cannot even haul water. I have never rowed, and aside from being lame-footed, I am weak and unable to serve or do anything else. Four hundred francs are more than what I am worth [in ransom], for I eat and lie inactive—as I am sure you can imagine the condition of an old and disabled man. When I was in *al-Walīda*, that ship of Salé in which I was taken captive, they wrote down that I was from Salé, but I am, as God almighty is my witness, Algerian, from father to grandfather. I never knew Salé until I was released by Mulay Isma’il from Spain. This is what I am telling you.

Now I wish to request of your noble self to grant me my liberation [*khalas*] and to send your orders for my freedom. There are four hundred francs, which we can offer toward my salvation, kept by a young captive youth. This is what ’Uthman ibn Qasim the Algerian and lame-footed wrote. In the official record, it is written that I am a Saletian of the *al-Walīda* ship. My number is 6708. And the date of this paper is the sixth of Shaʿban in the year one thousand and one hundred and nineteen [November 1, 1707].

16A

1713: LETTERS OF BENTURA DE ZARI, MOROCCAN AMBASSADOR UNDER

HOUSE ARREST IN LONDON, NATIONAL KEW ARCHIVES, SP 71/16/63–65, 70–71. ENGLISH ORIGINAL.

The story of Bentura de Zari, if that was his real name, is unique in the annals of early modern diplomatic exchange between North Africa and Europe. While danger always beset envoys and travelers, whether from highway brigands, angry mobs, or whimsical rulers, no ambassador seemed to have undergone the kind of humiliation that the Moroccan ambassador experienced in London between 1710 and 1713. The story of don Bentura reveals the dramatic change in the balance of power that had occurred by the early eighteenth century. No such episode could have occurred a century earlier, when Queen Elizabeth was appealing to Moroccans for financial help, or when King James was negotiating with the Algerians for the return of British captives, or when King Charles was bribing the Tunisians with munitions and military supplies so they would suppress the attacks of their privateers. Bentura fell victim to the imbalance of power between Britain and the Islamic Mediterranean that marked the beginning of European imperial ascendancy. His story also raises the question whether it possible in the early modern period for an individual to be identified with two different societies. At a time when English meant Anglican, and French meant Catholic (especially after 1685), could a Muslim, for instance, be "English"/British or a Christian or a Jew be "Moroccan"? After all, Bentura did call Morocco "my Country."[87]

After Moroccan pirates captured a British ship, Bentura found himself being punished for their deed. During his house arrest on Dartmouth Street in London, he wrote numerous letters to the secretary of state, Lord Dartmouth, describing his plight, appealing for help, and complaining about the breach of his diplomatic immunity. He even appealed on the grounds of the Christianity, which, he reminded his readers, he shared with them. Five months later he was freed.

Bentura de Zari did not know English and must have written in Spanish; his letters were often (as the handwriting shows) translated by Jezreel Jones. The ambassador always signed his name to the letters, claiming that he was signing in Arabic, although it was actually Armenian.[88]

1

Dartmouth streete Westminister
January the 23d 1712/3
My Lord

I have waited fourteen days with Patience, for the Honour of an Answer from Your Lordship to the Letter I wrote on the 9th instant, by the same Messenger who brought Your Lordships Order to Confine me, and to which I readily complied, having been entirely at my owne Expense; and have not breathed out of that Confinement, the Free Air which God distributes to all his Creatures. I must on behalf of my Master take particular Notice of what I find mentioned in Your Lordships Letter in Relation to her Majestys Subjects being Captives, and which is published in the Gazette and other publick Papers, That of my Confinement: And take the Liberty to acquaint Your Lordship with my Opinion of what I fear may prove the Consequence of it, As also of the deferring to lett me know the particulars of the Complaints laid before Her Majesty, without which I cannot be any Ways instrumentall in Redressing Matters, so as to be Serviceable to Her Majesty, And to procure satisfaction to her Subjects if Injured.

My Lord, As to my Confinement, it dos trouble Me, as I told Your Lordship in my former, but the Treatment my Master meets with in that may draw upon Her Majestys Subjects in his Dominions Inconveniency of a much more deplorable Consequence, And if I may be allowed to know anything of the Maxims of the Eastern Mahometan Court The very confinement of Me, and the Publishing of it may probably Induce the Emperour my Master to lay as greate a Confinement, upon all Her Majestys Subjects and Effects in his Dominions, And oblige him to give Orders, to all his Governours and Commanders of Ships, to spare none of her Majestys Subjects they can by Stratagem or Acc[id]ent meet with by Sea or Land. I shall be very sorry, if any Neglect can be laid to my Charge, throughout the Time I have had the Honour of being in the Court of Greate Brittain, and I hope Your Lordship will do me that Justice in letting Her Majesty be informed of my Zeal, always to promote a Good Correspondence: but I never took upon Me the hard Task of hindering any of my Masters Subjects complaining of Injurys done to them by the Subjects of Her Brittanick Majesty, tho I have had no Redress for many that have been done to my Person. I shall not detain Your Lordship any longer this Time, but to express myself with the same desire to serve Her Majesty in any Comands, She will be please to lay upon Me, and am,

My Lord
Your Lordships
Most obedient Servant
Bentura de Zari

2

From my Confinemt in Dartmouth Street February 19th 1712/13
My Lord

I have waited a long time for Your Lordships Answer to my Letter of the sixth instant wherein I desired You would be pleased to Send me a particular of the Complaints for which I am Confin'd and indeed these delays are Additional hardships, wch I little expected, after having so potentily Submitted to a proceeding, not to be justifyed by the Law of Nations; for by that Law my Lord the Persons of Embassadors have ever been sacred, even from Princes actually in Warr, with those from whom they are Sent, and the late Act of Parliament relating to Embassadors wch makes their Priviledges inviolable and if these are some few Examples to be found which seem to encroach upon the Ancient and established Custom, yet they are such only as have been excus'd by Reprisals for Persons of equal Character detained, or for some flagrant Act Committed by the Minister himself against the Court where he resided whereby having been the first Breaker of the Law he forfeited all Right of Protection from the same.

Neither of these, I am sure, my Lord, can be my Case and I hope it will not be thought reasonable that I should answer at the perill of my health and Liberty for every Action Committed by my Master or his Subjects after the Expiration of a Truce, But it will appear still more unjust my Lord, that I should be Confin'd for general Complaints before any Memorial has been Lodg'd with me to Transmitt to my Principall where no fact has been verified, nor any redress (as I can learn) in a proper way either demanded or refused.

You will, I am sure, my Lord, do me the Justice to remember that it is not my fault, that the Truce has not been long since renewed, for I have always done my Endeavour to maintain a good Correspondence between the two Nations, and upon such Complaints as have been delivered to me, I have procured effectual Redress for her Britannic Majestys Subjects; which is a further Reason why I should have been exempt from all treatment of this nature.

I Bless God, My Lord, that I was born a Christian, am so still, and in that Faith I hope to Live and die and thô it be my Lott to represent a Mohametan Prince, whom God will in his due time (I hope) illuminate, As a Christian therefore I patiently submitt to such Misfortunes as it pleases God to visit me with, and as a Christian I have hitherto represented my Confinement etc. in such Modest Terms to the Emperor my Master as will not I hope provoke him to retaliate on the Queens Subjects, as might be Justifiable upon so Signal an Affront offered to his Imperial Dignitie. But my Lord as a Man, and as a Minister to so Potent a Prince I cannot help Complaining, and demanding Speedy redress, For neither the defraying of my Charges whils't I am in Custody, nor the Paym't nor allowances for Franchise which the Queen has usually Granted to my Predecessors can be Sufficient Compensation for the Loss of my Time, health and Liberty; much less will they Satisfy my Master for the Affront he has received in my Person when he shall think fitt to resent it, which I fear will be too soon, if more care be not taken to prevent the increasing of this Evill.

I am
My Lord
Your Lordships
Most Obedient and most humble
Serv’t
Bentura de Zari

16B

January 12, 1717: Letter of Mulay Ismaʿil to Philip V, in Muhammad al-Saghīr al-Ifranī, Rawdat al-Taʿrīf, *ed. ʿAbd al-Wahab Benmansour, 133–134.*

Jews were active in Moroccan diplomacy, and their number as envoys and ambassadors surpassed that of the Christians because there were large Jewish communities settled all around Morocco and the rest of the Islamic West. In 1615 Mulay Zaydan sent the Jew Yamīn ibn Remmūkh to sell for him 235 cases of sugar “in any part of Christendome”; he gave him a letter requesting that he, Yamīn, be well received and that none “consent or suffer any disturbance or wronge, either by sea or lande, to be donne unto him.”[89] *Two years later, in February, Zaydan sent Samuel Pallache and his brother Joseph to Holland with six thousand cowhides, six cases of sugar, and three hundred* qintals *of dye.*[90] *The brothers served both Mulay Zaydan and his son/successor in negotiations with the States General of the Netherlands. In 1637 Joseph Pallache was still active, having served four Moroccan rulers consecutively.*[91]

In June 1698 the Moroccan envoy, Daniel Toledano, a native of Meknes, was accompanied by his son Moses to The Hague, where he tried to buy cannons, weapons, and ammunition from the States General.[92] *The Jewish envoy remained there until 1700. Another Moroccan Jew, Yehudah ibn Yosef Pereş, was sent by Mulay Ismaʾil to Alexandria but was captured near Naples, from where he was taken to Leghorn, Venice, and other places, after which he wrote an account of his life and experiences—in Hebrew.*[93] *In March 1703 a Jewish envoy from Tripoli to Holland, “Bohas Pinchas,” arrived in London in the hope of catching a ship back to his country.*[94] *Toledano was sent again to Spain in 1717, but was refused welcome, occasioning this letter from Mulay Ismaʿil.*

From the sublime commander in God almighty, the Hashemite Prince of the Faithful, victorious, and supportive, struggling in the path of God almighty, the Sharīfian descendant of Hasan. (The Sultanic seal: Ismaʿil son of the Sharīfian Hasan, may God strengthen him.)

May God strengthen him and make him victorious, and make his blessed soldiers and armies victorious by His generosity and benevolence. Amen.

To Philip the Fifth, the tyrant of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Biscay, Galicia, East and West Andalus, India, and other regions that are credited to your authority.

Peace upon him who follows the guidance [of God], obeys, and then finds truth.

Thus: Know that before this hour, and a few days ago, we sent to the city of Cadiz a Jew of the Jews who serve us and perform for us some of our worldly duties. His name is Simon Toledano [of Toledo],[95] and he was accompanied by six servants, also Jews. He carried our letter to your servant who speaks for you in the city of Cadiz. We mentioned in the letter that the aforementioned Jew should be permitted to travel for a specific number of days to finish the blessed duties we had assigned him. We thought that matter easy, uncomplicated, and unproblematic. But then it appeared to us from what [the governor] did that he could not grant that permission, and that if he could, he would have. The reason was that *diwan* of yours, called the Inquisition.

So we are now writing to you, because you are the king, and doubtless everything that occurs reverts back to you. As for the claim of the Inquisition that the company of the Jews will corrupt the belief of the common people—if that had been true, we would not have permitted them among us. For when a man chooses a religion for himself, nothing can corrupt it. If they [members of the Inquisition] persist in so believing, then let them appoint the Jews a learned man from their aforementioned office who will accompany and escort them on their travels, and ensure that they do not communicate with any of the common people in religious matters, as is the custom.

Do you not know that in our blessed kingdom we have Christians and friars in churches and places where they perform their infidelity, as is their custom, in front of idols and crucifixes and everything else needed inside their churches—all of which is decried in our religion? But we have permitted them to worship because of the good will that your ancestors had shown. Therefore, we expect you to reciprocate and permit that *dhimmi* to enter the city of Cadiz, and stay there for two or three months until he completes the errands we have assigned him. Finished.

Written on 20 holy Muharram, the beginning of the year 1129.

1726–1727: ON QUININE, IN HUSAYN KHŪJAH, AL-ASRAR AL-KAMĪNAH, *ED. AL-KARRAY AL-QUSANTINI, 31–43.*

After falling prey to the swamp fever in 1725, the author prepared this treatise, describing his travels among the Christians, his imitation of their use of quinine, and his reliance on a Tunisian Jewish physician to translate information about the cure. Khūjah had not only visited Christians but had also established a close friendship that was rewarded by the prompt letter he received explaining the benefits of quinine.

Born in Tunis about 1666, Khūjah was the grand scribe at the court of Hussein ibn ʿAli. He served as the official translator and historiographer of the Ottoman administration. He was fluent in Turkish, Persian, the Mediterranean lingua franca, and Arabic. In 1690 he traveled for medical reasons to the lands of the Franks—where he first learned about quinaquina/*quinine.*[96] *His treatise on quinine was later praised by numerous Tunisian jurists and historians.*[97]

In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, and the prayers of God on our master Muhammad and on his family and companions … Thus.

The poor mendicant, who is in need of God's bounty, God the benevolent, Hajj Husayn Khūjah son of ʿAli son of Suleyman says:

I suffered from an illness in the land of the Franks [possibly Italy]. I consulted some of its wise men and those physicians with expertise in medical cures. I learned from them useful, mitigating, and specialized information regarding the medicine known as quinine. I studied its effects and acquired experience in its use, and witnessed the proof of its efficacy. When I recovered from my illness, and to God is the bounty, I carried with me some [quinine] as I returned to my country and the land of my birth, the city of Tunis, may God protect it. I then proceeded to treat people, one of whom was Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad, son of my [Sufi] master and teacher Abu Hasan ʿAli the Sūfi, the Hanafite mufti in the city of Tunis. That was in the year 1101 [1691–1692]. And God be praised, it cured him. So I said to him: "Thank God who cured you, and ensured your speedy recovery."

Then I lost what quinine I had because it was not widely known and there was little exposure to it. And so I threw it behind my back and forgot about it. Then, when Frankish physicians grew numerous in our land in these years, they reintroduced it and treated patients who were suffering from the fever. The merciful God made it efficacious and it cured those who were suffering from the fever. So knowledge about quinine's effectiveness, by the will of God, spread among the ignorant, and it was praised because it had sent away the fever.

In the year 1138 [after September 1726], I fell victim to the aforementioned disease, and I remembered how I had used it before. I also remembered the way to use it, and I treated myself all by myself like one who was faithful to his master and unwilling to turn to anyone else. And so the Almighty presented us with what He had accustomed us to—His noble bounty in relieving exigencies.

To my knowledge, the Frankish physicians have had differing views regarding its use. There are questions and answers and very useful books. I wrote to some of their wise men who were known to me, as well as to their physicians, asking them to send me a short summary about its benefits, bringing together all that they have agreed on. They hastened and sent me a letter containing a survey of their views, but it was written in their strange way of composition, and its meaning was confined to the cage of their [foreign] languages circumscribed by their stylistic peculiarity. So I ignored it and it fell into oblivion because of my weak condition.

Then, in the year 1139 [1727] the illness known as fever, may God spare us, spread in the city of Tunis and all the region of Ifrīqiya. It spread through city and desert, and many died. The illness started in the year 1138 [1726]. The most efficacious medicine that produced cures, and showed how terrible that illness was, was the aforementioned medicine. Among the sick, it became as famous as fire on a flagpole. With the hands of healing, the All-Powerful cured the pain of this fever with this medicine; praise be to Him who saved whom He willed, and looked kindly on His followers until they were cured.

Having seen how popular it had become, and how useful it was, I realized the need to reveal that letter and to translate promptly what its language had hidden. I wanted to walk with it to the garden of the Arabic language and there explain the depths of its meanings, so that its benefit, almighty God willing, would reach all our Muslim brothers, in the hope of reward before the God of all the universe. So I turned it into Arabic, as much as possible, and for the difficult terms and technical references I turned to the wise man, Harūn Abi al-ʿUyūn. He was learned in this business [of translation] and knew the doors through which the house could be entered. I relied on Him who deserves to be relied on and to be praised for seeking His help.

Since it was nearly completely finished in the year 1138 [1726], I called it “Al-Asrar al-Kamīna bi-Ahwal al-Kīna Kīna” [The Hidden Secrets of the Uses of Kīna Kīna], and I organized it to start with an introduction, followed by twelve chapters, and a conclusion.

Chapter I

It [quinine] comes from the bark of a nameless tree. As for its place of origin, it is brought from the land of the West Indies, which is controlled by the keeper of Spain. It is from there, too, that gold and silver are brought, even to our own day. It grows in a special region there known as Loga, which used to be a top secret among them.

As for the manner of its discovery: some wise men from among the Franks had traveled in that land and tried and used it. They found it excellent for relieving the fever, as useful as a day planet [sun?] for light and many cups [of water] for thirst. [One of them] brought a big amount and returned to his native city Naples, which belongs to Spain. He gave it to those suffering from the fever, and they experienced, through God's grace, a cure, by God almighty. For a long time, he sold the *mithqal* [around five grams] of quinine for a *mithqal* of gold. He was asked where he had found and acquired it but was unwilling to give an honest answer. He lied and deceived them, claiming that it came from the land of Sīn al-Sīn [China]. In their language, Sīn al-Sīn is known as Kabin al-Kabin [Peking],[98] as in the Turkish language they call Sīn in al-Sīn Jīn fa-Jīn ba-Jīm, since it is known that in their language they use the triple. It was thus named after the place from which it was brought, but God knows best.

So they sought it in Sīn al-Sīn but could not find it, nor did anyone there know anything about it. They persevered in their quest in order to find the truth about it, or something like that. So they told them that it sometimes comes to us from so-and-so place, and they described the aforementioned place, which is the West Indies. And as they searched for it, the one who had discovered it seized the opportunity to fetch some more in order to realize his goal, until he acquired vast sums of money. End.[99]

Only God knows.

A story is told about the governor of the lands of Beru [Peru]—with a vowel under the letter b and another over the r—which are large regions. There is a big city where the *real* is minted, which is known to us as the Mast *Real* because there are two masts on it. The wife of the governor was sick with the fever,[100] so news about her reached the governor of the aforementioned Loga, which is near the lands of Beru. So he collected some of the aforementioned tree bark and sent it to the governor to treat his wife. She recovered quickly from the fever. The governor was amazed at the medicine and collected some and took it to his country Spain after he had completed his designated time of duty in that land. That was about the year 1064 after the *hijra* [1654]. End.

18

MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: CAPTIVITY IN MALTA, IN ABU AL-QASIM AL-

ZAYANI, AL-TARJUMANAH AL-KUBRA, *ED. ʿABD AL-KARĪM AL-FILALI, 192–193.*

Captivity served as the most effective means of trans-religious and trans-cultural interaction. Although it was often a violent experience, it sometimes brought about, as the following example shows, friendship between the two religious communities. Captivity forced communication across the barriers of belief, necessitating correspondence with captors who were geographically and linguistically different.

The following captivity account tells of one Ibrahīm al-Dimiati, who was seized by Maltese pirates. This is how al-Zayani reported the story:

He [Ibrahīm] said:

I left Dimiat to Crete on board a Muslim ship. As we drew near Crete, a Maltese ship attacked us and took us captive. I had with me a bag [*khurj*] in which there were notebooks and a hundred riyals. They took the riyals and threw me back the books. When we reached Malta, I asked their leader to return the bag to me so I can keep my books. He ordered the bag to be returned to me and I put my books in it and hung it on my shoulder. As we were made to stand before the tyrant of Malta, he saw the bag, and asked the leader about it in their language. He was told something I did not understand. So he held me back. They then took the Muslims to prison and released me. I asked them,

"Where do I go?"

One answered me in Arabic and said,

"You are free. Go to the monks in the church." And he led me there.

When we reached the church, we entered upon a monk and he told him in Arabic,

"This *qadi* has been freed by the prince until a ship arrives which will take him to the land of the Muslims."

So I laid down the bag and sat with the monk. I saw him looking at some books near him, so I said,

"Can you read the Muslim script?"

He laughed and said, "Can you?"

I said, "Yes."

So he handed me the tome in his hand, which was Ibn Masʿūd's exegesis.[101] He then handed me another, which was al-Bīdawi's;[102] and then another, which was al-Zamakhshari's;[103] and ar-Razi's,[104] which had words on its last leaf stating that it had been written in Bayt al-Maqdis [Jerusalem] in the year so-and-so. I asked him,

"Where did you get this exegesis?"

He said, "I copied it in Bayt al-Maqdis when I was a judge there."

I asked him, “How could you have been a judge while you are a monk?”

He answered, “Blessed be God. Not long ago, I was a boy serving the judge of the soldiers, so-and-so. And although I continued to be a Christian, I served him and learned to read and write and copy. I was then advanced to the rank of a jurist and excelled. And when he [the judge] saw my dignity and competence, he advanced me to higher positions. I became a judge, in so-and-so year, and once more, in so-and-so-year, and after seven positions, I became the judge of Bayt al-Maqdis. And when my teacher died, and I had spent so many years there, I returned to my country, my luggage full, and I reassumed the religion of my fathers and ancestors. By God, I only work with Muslim books, which are my companions, although I keep my Christianity, which I do not wish to change.”

He [Ibrahīm] said:

He [the monk] became my friend and host. And when a ship appeared on its way to Crete, belonging to some good unbelievers, he charged its captain to take me back, and he gave me food from the best he had, and he was good to me throughout the month I stayed with him.

19

1782: Muhammad ibn ʿUthman al-Miknasi. Falling in Love in Naples, in al-Badr al-Safir li Hidayat al-Musafir ila Fikak al-Asara min Yad al-ʿAduww al-Kafir. *Rabat National Library, MS Ha 52, fols. 145–150.*

Al-Miknasi was born in Meknes and grew up in a house of learning, where his father was a mosque preacher. He joined the royal court as a tutor and then as a scribe. After going on two missions to Europe, he wrote his accounts with an eye on readers at court, especially those who might be sent, like him, on future missions to liberate captives (thus the title of his second work, li-Hidayat al-Musafir/ *To Guide the Traveler). But his primary audience was the king: in both accounts, he inserted praise for him, even praise supposedly, from soldiers, commanders, and officials from among his European hosts. Al-Miknasi was a cultivated man and a poet, meticulous in his composition. In the journey to Malta, Naples, and Sicily, he wrote while he was traveling, but he lost the manuscript and had to rewrite his travelogue—which is why, as he admitted, he forgot many details and perhaps made some mistakes. Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah, the ruler who had sent al-Miknasi to Europe, recognized the importance of travel writings for his library—which is where one of the three surviving manuscripts of al-Miknasi’s* *second journey has remained.*[105]

During his stay in Naples, he was invited to the theater. He recounts, with honesty and embarrassment, what happened that night. The passage is melodic, full of internal rhyme and puns. Al-Miknasi fell in love at first sight.

One night, a minister invited us to his house to honor us. He also invited many other important ministers. After we had eaten dinner, we went to see him. He met us at the entrance, accompanied by members of the *taghiya*'s/ king's inner court and servants. He led us to a huge dome, covered with different kinds of cloth, which had been prepared for the crowd. He lit candles on glass chandeliers, which glittered in their light, and he settled us in a place with chairs. He then brought some confectionary, a lot, of which the large assembly partook; even those in the alleys were not denied it. The people had their fill while the servants wandered among the aisles, offering drinks. Everyone was overwhelmed by the minister's generosity and kindness. Then, one of the servants brought some notebooks and distributed them to all who were inside the dome, according to their numbers. He gave us one since we were part of the crowd, lest he be blamed, [notwithstanding that it] was in Spanish. I gave the notebook to our translator, asking about the contents that had been inscribed in great elegance, and why the notebooks had been distributed to the crowd. He said: "Regarding the contents, they are songs and love stories full of sadness and chants. As to why they are distributed—that is so each will know, in due time, what the songs are that accompany the tunes."

Then the *hijab*/curtain was lifted, and a door opened. A girl appeared from her quarters, dressed in white, like a halo around the crescent. She swayed around, from one place to another, reappearing as bright as the crescent. The crowd associated her [with God] and blasphemed. She opened up the pages of the songbook, and everybody followed suit. Then a [musical] instrument was brought near her, from the Psalms of David, known as *al'arba*/harp, producing melodies and tunes that were both moving and joyful. She started playing on it, striking it with what the noble soul desired. Then a castrated boy joined her, and they started singing in beautiful voices and to gentle and delicate music. The boy acted the role of a sickly infatuated lover, while the girl acted the role of the beloved who was distant and untrue. They continued in this whispering complaint and colloquy until all souls [in the audience] bent to them, and the beauty of her features penetrated the chambers of the hearts. The voices then subsided, the people alive as if dead, with birds on the heads,[106] saying nothing except by sign or wink or signal of the eyebrow. When she struck that instrument, which resembled the *oud*, she made you forget the Psalms of David, and when she sang without instrumental accompaniment, she made you forget the world and all that was in it.

She is a masterpiece of the masterpieces of time, not to be found in Damascus or Yemen. Nothing is like her or even comes close to her. When she saunters, she is like a spear, and when she parts her lips in a smile, she divides the hearts, and if she looks from the corner of her eye, she leaves hearts broken with sorrow. When she approaches, she kills, and when she withdraws, she conquers the hearts and prevails, having dissipated minds and dreams.

When she finished her rapturous singing, which was beyond wonder, and sat down to rest, people started talking and whispering about her talents, each person with his companion and friend and associate. All were unanimous that neither eye nor ear had seen her like, and all the beautiful women whose fame had spread around the world admitted to her excellence. Even rivals conceded and surrendered the fight.

Perhaps a polite [observer], reading what we have written, will disagree, saying that the one who is describing her assumes and invents. I answer him, he who does not believe that there was one who saw her:

If they saw Leila they would marvel at her beauty
And say that my praise was inadequate.[107]

Having seen how wondrous she was, I started looking at her as if she were my creed. I prayed for safety and liberation from her trap.

I was afraid to be one of those whose eyesight would lead his heart astray so that the innocent would be punished for the sin of the guilty. We noticed that midnight had already passed, but the people's spirits were still focused on that beguiling gazelle as if she were the *qibla*/ Mecca]. They were unable to turn away from her beauteous grace, not even to blink, and [they became so confused as to use] adjectives incorrectly and barbarously.

I decided to leave before dawn, before we were betwitched, and to leave while still unharmed before we became corroded. I did not want to be her friend lest I be wounded by her glances. God have mercy on the soul of [Abu Muhammad al-Qasim] al-Harīri when he said:[108]

You see but you do not smell lightning,
Beware lightning that has the thunderbolt of death;
The bane of youth is to follow the whims of the spirit,
The dissemination of love is the ambition of the eye;
Turn your eye away from love
Lest you be clothed with humiliation and indignity.

. . . .

I determined to leave before I fell in the snares of passion and possession. I asked the minister to help us leave. He said:

“You will disappoint us tonight.”

I insisted and so he complied. His daughter, who had been singing, joined the crowd to bid us farewell. So we rolled up our gear to depart, leaving them to what they were doing for the rest of the night.

20

1798: Letter from a Female Captive in Malta, Muhammad Razzūq, Dirasat fī Tarīkh al-Maghrib, 178–181.

Malta was the bane of North Africa as it harbored pirates who threatened Muslim travel and commerce between the Maghrib and the Mashriq. Al-Tamjruti had declaimed against its pirates, and in 1627, as Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari sailed toward Egypt, he described the terror of the raging sea, but then added another terror: we feared, he recalled, the attack of the enemy, “may God destroy them and relieve the Muslims, especially of cursed Malta; whoever escapes the harm of the Maltese will have received divine help.”[109] *As J. Pignon has noted, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Maltese had been active in piracy: between 1574 and 1620, they launched annual attacks on North Africa, sometimes twice and thrice in the same year.*[110] *Godfrey Wettinger’s exhaustive study,* Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo, ca. 1000–1812, *is a valuable resource for the study of the plight of Muslims on the islands (see especially 492–500).*[111]

Under two centuries later, the situation had not changed. In 1798 Lala Fatma was captured by Maltese pirates, after which she sent an appeal to “Mulay Suleyman, the Sultan of Morocco” (reg. 1792–1822), asking for his help. The letter is written in very poor Arabic and perhaps because of the trauma, is often incoherent and repetitive, shifting from first to third person and using truncated sentences. As a result, I have translated some passages thematically rather than literally.

Praise be to God alone, and God’s prayer on our master and mulay Muhammad.

Praise be to God, cause of causes, and liberator of captives. He created Adam and Eve from earth, and made knowledge declare truth, and the pen a means of communicating among friends, I mean by that he who receives our letters and stretches his hand toward us. To the *sayyid* and mulay Suleyman, Sultan of the West, may God grant him victory and support his armies. Amen.

From the *sayyid*[112] Lala Fatma daughter of *sayyid* Muhammad ibn

ʿAbd al-Rahman, many greetings, and a thousand greeting and greeting on *sayyid* Mulay Suleyman: from her husband, Mulay Muhammad ibn al-Hajj ʿAli al-Sabi many greetings, followed by a thousand greetings.

Today, O sultan of mercy, may God grant you victory and increase your days, I was brought to Malta, and kept in the quarantine for forty days. After completing the forty days, I was then led to the Maltese Sultan who asked me:

"Where are you from, woman?"

"Sultan, I am from the west [*gharb*/Morocco]," I answered.

"Whose daughter are you?"

"I am the daughter of the sultan Mulay Idrīs;[113] I do not deny my ancestry, and I am a relative of Mulay Muhammad. And I said, O sultan, I do not deny my ancestry. I am the daughter of the sultan Mulay Idrīs and today I want to tell you I came here not to work but was brought here by the sword. Then I said to him, O sultan, God delivered me into your hands so you would decide my fate, better than others would." After that the sultan replied:

"You woman, I cannot decide about you; only he who brought you here can, either to be sold or to be enslaved …" Then he told the merchant who had brought me that this castaway should neither be sold nor bought until someone intercedes for her and her husband. "Keep them in a house alone."

After that, *sīdi*, we passed a month [of August?] in a good condition. And today, *sīdi*, God … [missing word/s] increase your days and years. Then the Rūmi [Christian] in whose possession I was said:

"Do you have anyone to whom you can write?"

Then she said: "Had I been in the house of the prophet, the house of *sīdi* Mulay Suleyman may God grant him victory and increase his days and age, we are used to paper. And today the Rūmi in whose possession I am, sits in the chair and places the inkwell in the lap of … [missing word/s]. He smokes through a stone [pipe?] and the smoke comes out from his face and stone." I said:

"O enemy of God, why do you smoke through the stone?"

He said:

"You are my property and we can do to you what we like." He then rose to her husband and tightened the iron [chains?] and walked around the prison. Then the chief merchant came to buy her and offered fifty thousand Maltese riyals for the three of them: she, her husband and their servant. On that day, *sayyid* Fatma stood and said to the merchant:

"You want to buy me, who will buy me … I am not a servant with money. God grant victory to the house of the prophet and to *sīdi* Mulay Suleyman and bless his progeny."

After that, the infidel kneaded barley bread for her but she said:

“You enemy of God, we do not eat barley bread.”

Then the infidel rose and locked the door on her, leaving her no light. She was alone and none could enter …. The neighbors heard her screaming so he sent his chief servants at her, who covered her with defilement. After that she said:

“O unclean enemy of God, I did not call the servants. And how dare you sully my *sayyid* face with defilement?” So he said:

“You say I am not your master?”

“O enemy of God,” I said, “I am a *sayyid* of Mulay Suleyman, may God grant him and his soldiers victory, O enemy of God.”

He then hit me on my stomach, I a pregnant woman. So I fell and stayed for eight [days] in pain. He then brought a doctor and a midwife, who attended to the *sharīfa* [Fatma] in her pregnancy. But the foetus had been dead for seven days, and on the ninth day, she [midwife] delivered her [Fatma] of a five-and-a-half-months stillborn. Today, O *sayyid* and Mulay Suleyman, may God grant you years and increase your days, what do you know. Today, look O *sayyid*, today O *sayyid*, may God grant you years and increase your days. She sent the papers to the current pasha who told the sultan of Malta. [Four carried her to the physician?] Idovia in the house of Nabaf, friend of *sayyid* Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah, may God have mercy on your servants. Today O *sayyid* Mulay Suleyman, may God grant you victory and increase your days, he [?] saw two Chris … [tians?] one of them called Fabaf, servant of *sayyid* Muhammad, God have mercy, and the other called Francis Shakanbar [Alexander?]. Both were performing good [deeds]. Today, they met with Muslims and said: “Praise be to God that the house of our *sayyid* is still prosperous, may God grant victory to Mulay Suleyman, may God have mercy on the great *sayyid* and grant victory to Mulay Suleyman.”

“Today, O *sayyid*, God grant you victory and increase your days, send your servant to the king of Spain and then to the fleet admiral so that he communicate with Malta, at the house of Nabaf, servant of *sayyid* Muhammad, God have mercy, and greet *sayyid* Mulay Suleyman, God grant victory to all the fighters at sea. Today O *sayyid* Mulay Suleyman, God grant you victory and increase your days: we have none but God and you and we invoke the mercy of God and you. You can intercede in this world. God increase your days.”

The date of this paper is the eighth day of Shawwal ….[114]

And greetings to the *sayyid* from among the sharīfs and the fighters in the West. And greetings to the *sayyid* Mulay ʿAbdallah, may God be pleased with Mulay ʿAbdallah, the sharīf and Mulay ʿAbd al-Salam Binmashsih. May you be granted the blessing of God, the Prophet, and holy men.

Today, O *sayyid* Mulay Suleyman, God grant you victory and lengthen your days, O pride of the West. Today this man hit me, I, who am forty-six years old. And today, God lengthen the days of sidi and [hope] for a third child, but do not say it is small and painful. I complained to their governors but they said: “We do not judge cases relating to captives.” … And today, O *sayyid*, may God lengthen your days and life and grant you a child, do not let falsehood prevail, not for a day, O *sīdi*. Then your [emissaries?] arrived and said:

“Woman, why don’t you write about your situation?”

And I said to them:

“I will not leave a spot of falsehood [unreported]. The Sultan Mulay Suleyman will bring me God’s justice and all that God wishes. May God have mercy on *sīdi*’s father, and Peace.

The Christian’s name is Captain Shakanbar, son of Endia the blind.

NOTES

Introduction

1. Matar, *In the Lands*, 2003, 15. See the edition and translation of the full text by Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai, and Wiegers, 1997. For studies on Ibn Qasim, see Wiegers, 1992 and 1996.

2. See the work of Maalouf and El Cheikh.

3. Leo Africanus was one of the first “Muslims” to use the term “Europe”; Davis, 127. The term appears in Magharibi letters that were translated into European languages. But it is not clear whether the original Arabic had used the term. See, for instance, the Algerian ambassador’s use of “Europe” in December 1696, *Mercure Galant*, 13. See also Ibn Qasim, translation #10.

4. In this book I shall call this period the “early modern” period, fully aware that the European “early modern” does not correspond in its scientific and social transformation to its Magharibi counterpart. I am also aware of the reservations about the use of such a phrase that Goldstone presents in his article “The Problem of the Early Modern World.” It is actually difficult to disagree with Horden and Purcell, who reject such “ʿover-periodizing’” in the context of Mediterranean history; 326.

5. J[oseph] Morgan, an English resident in Algiers in the first part of the eighteenth century, used the phrase; *Mahometism Explained*, 2:ix. See also Shaw, 302. Edmund Burke uses “Arab Far West” in “Morocco and the Near East”; 71. An important publisher in Beirut currently by specializes in *al-Gharb al-Islami*/the Islamic West.

6. See the interesting study on the distinctiveness of Morocco from other parts of the Muslim Mediterranean in Burke, “Morocco and the Near East.”

7. For studies on travelers to Europe from the Ottoman Empire, see Veinstein and also Göçek. The Ottoman accounts, however, were short, not exceeding a dozen pages. The exceptions were the 1721 account about France, translated by Veinstein, and another about Vienna (1792). As the account of the embassy to Vienna in 1665 shows, the number of soldiers and entourage was quite high, providing thereby a large number of people with an opportunity to see the Christian world; see Kreutel.

8. Al-ʿAzmeh, 1991, 228.

9. Khalidi, 1995. See also ʿAbdallah. Afayah showed how the paradigms of an “imagined West” in the medieval Arabic corpus of geography could be of value in evaluating the contemporary encounter with the West; and similarly, ʿAbdallah Ibrahīm focused on three Arabic travelers—Ibn Fadlan, Ibn Battuta, and Ibn Khaldūn—and analyzed how the *al-aakhar*/Other was seen in the Islamic imaginary of the medieval period.

10. See Khalidi, 1975, ch. 4.

11. Ziyadah, ch. 1.

12. See the text and its translation, along with an evaluation, in El-Hajji. See also the study by W. E. D. Allen.

13. Richard N. Frye, translator.

14. For Ibn Khaldūn’s use of Latin sources, see Badawi, 1979, 135; and chapter 13 in Afayah.

15. Al-Tanji, 81.

16. Al-ʿAzmeh, 1998, esp. 397.

17. Lewis, 2004, 119.

18. Davis, 13.

19. See my review of the book in *The Times Higher Education Supplement*.

20. Harvey, 2004, 344.

21. See for instance, Lewis, 1982, and Göçek.

22. Lewis, 2004, 141.

23. See the study of Timberlake and the Moor by Taylor.

24. Castries, *Les Sources … Angleterre*, 1:604.

25. 2:11–13; see also 28. As the title explains, the text is “*nawazil*/judgements about Jihad and all that pertains to it.”

26. *Nawazil*, Rabat Royal Library, MS 798, fol. 194, quoted in Manūni, “Maʿalim,” 106 n.

27. Zayati, *Al-Jawahir al-Mukhtara*, 2:36.

28. Ibid., 2:12. Only under the Wahabi-influenced sultan Mulay Suleyman (1792–1814) was there strict prohibition on travel outside the country except by special permission from him.

29. Castries, *Les Sources … Pays-Bas*, 2:604.

30. Colin, 1927, 225.

31. Nichols, 2:10.

32. Rustum and al-Bustani, 237.

33. Quoted by Rouard De Card, 198.

34. Hertslet, 1:68. State Papers, National Archives, Kew (hereafter SP). SP 41/34/288.

35. SP 71/15/81.

36. SP 71/15/82: “The ships belonging to the King of Fez & Morocco, are not to come upon the Coast of her Matys Dominions.”

37. SP 71/4/341.

38. Hitzel, 2003, 16. The article provides a valuable survey of Ottoman travel accounts. See also Contadini: “The lack of motivation to travel to and in Europe and learn from personal experience was compounded by lack of opportunity, for the absence of places of pilgrimage can be added, Spain apart, the absence of Muslim communities in Europe with which to lodge with [*sic*] and learn from”; 3. For the Gibraltar reference, see SP 71/17/135 r–v.

39. See especially the high activity of Sīdi ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Talib in 1699–1701, ʿAli ibn Ajouza in 1705, and al-Hajj Sulaeman Mosho in 1705–1730; Ghattas.

40. For the internal factors that aggravated that fear in the period under study—famines, political unrest, tribal warfare, and economic decline—see the excellent study by Bu Sharab, *Maghariba fī al-Burtughal*, ch. 2: “The socio-political consequences of the Portuguese invasion of the Magharibi coast.”

41. Al-Hilati, 32 n. 88.

42. Loupias, 69.

43. Basset, 1890, 35.

44. Bu Sharab, *Magharibah fī al-Burtughal*, 36.

45. Cited in Larquié, 1970, 47, n.1.

46. Argy-Rousseau, plates LXXXII and LXXV.

47. Ibn Qasim, 73. See a similar reference to burning in al-Maqqari, 1968, 4:528.

48. British Library, Harleian MSS 7501.

49. Ibn Qasim, 118.

50. Rabadan, 2:297–298.

51. See “Architecture and the Arts in Egypt and North Africa,” in Blair and Bloom. Well into the eighteenth century, rulers familiarized themselves with European styles as well as with various types of marble and imported the latter for their buildings. See the reference to Hussein ibn ʿAli (reg. 1705–1735), Cherif, 1:31.

52. Perez, 1964, 140. See also Perez’s article “Una Republica Andaluza en el Norte de Africa.” Binsharafiyah warns, however, against underestimating the Islamic character of Salé.

53. Latham, 1986, 188–205.

54. Asín, 1973 and 1933. See also Harvey, 1963. In 1623 the Dutch ambassador to Mulay Zaydan brought with him a painter, Justus Stuyling, who executed the frescos in al-Badīʿ Palace; Penz, 37.

55. “Most of the inhabitants of this town [Testour] are from Al-Andalus. They are highly urbanized, well-mannered and civil”; al-Miknasi, 2003, 327.

56. Ibn Muhammad, *Al-Khabar*, n.p.

57. Ibid.

58. Al-ʿUdwani, 296–297.

59. Quoted by Temimi, 1989, 104.

60. *A Letter from a Gentleman of the Lord Ambassador Howard's Retinue,* 22. Al-Miknasi, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, also confirmed this point: *Al-Iksīr fī Iftikak al-Asīr*, 13, referring to Ceuta and Melilla.

61. Al-Zayati, MS Dal 1698, 1.

62. Morgan and Morgan, 24.

63. Al-Mashrafi, 13–14. See also on the "Mogetuzin, i.e. those Moors, or Arabs, who I observed were settled at Oran"; Morgan, 1732, 131.

64. Al-Mashrafi, 14–15.

65. Morgan, 1732, 132.

66. Al-Fasi, *Ibtihaj al-Qulūb*, fol. 24.

67. Ibn Muhammad, *Al-Khabar*, n.p.

68. Plantet, 1893, 2:2. Ten years later, the Tunisian merchants again complained to the French king about the "*inquiétés et maltraités*" committed by his subjects on them: ibid., 2:55 (November 4, 1710).

69. Al-Zarhuni, 1:208.

70. Al-Fasi, "Al-ʿilam bin man Ghabar," 160, 228–229.

71. Plantet, 1893, 2:76 (June 13, 1713).

72. Quoted in Astito, 192.

73. Ibn Ghalbūn, 140–141.

74. Delphin, 211.

75. As Stephen Greenblatt states, the "anecdote, which is linked at least etymologically with the unpublished, is the principal register of the unexpected and hence of the encounter with difference"; 2–3.

76. The phrases are Blight's; 7.

77. British Library, Add. MSS 61542, 129 ff.

78. See the comparison of a Moroccan and an English traveler to Palestine in the 1660s in Matar, 2000.

79. Al-Wufrani, *Nuzhat al-Hadī*, 143. Al-Wufrani lived between 1669 and 1738.

80. "In the beginning of the month of Rabīc al-Awwal/No sound was left of the *rūm* in Tangier;/In the year a thousand [A.H.], add to it nine and five [A.D. 1685],/It now has passed;/The sultan ordered the reconstruction, With no delay or question"; quoted in Dawūd, vol. 1, part 2, 270.

81. Dawūd, vol. 2, part 1, 13–16.

82. For the importance of the *urjūza,* a poem in Magharibi literary tradition describing specific events, see the discussion in al-Hamadi.

83. Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 169–183.

84. British Library, Harleian MSS 7501, inside cover.

85. Rabadan, "The Author's Preface."

86. Fagnan, "Un chant algérien du XVIIIe siècle."

87. Al-Manūni, 1971, 80–82; see 122–124 for references to women copyists.

88. SP 71/2/318r (November 9, 1682).

89. Dawūd, vol. 2, part 1, 21.

90. Al-Yūsi, *Rasa'il*, 1:257–273.

91. The research of John O. Hunwick in Timbuktu has shown that "there is a literate history in Africa"; Daniel Del Castillo, "Decaying Manuscripts Reveal Africa's Literate History," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 6, 2002.

92. As Pederson has noted, many Arabic manuscripts/books opened by including "a record of the chain of informants (*isnad*)" representing "an unbroken oral tradition"; 23.

93. Ibn Abi Dinar, 177.

94. Morgan, 1732, 110 n.

95. Ibid., 134. In *A Compleat History of the Piratical States of Barbary*, Morgan learned from the populace how vines were originally planted in Algiers "by the Moors, after their Expulsion from Granada" (163); the Moors' innovation was still remembered two centuries later.

96. Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 370.

97. 2:322.

98. Al-Zayani, *Al-Tarjumanah*, 302. For a discussion of al-Zayani as a historian, see Le Torneau.

99. Castries, *Les Sources … Pays-Bas*, 6:531, 595.

100. Al-Yūsi, *Al-Muhadarat*, 81.

101. *Documents Marocains*, 3.

102. Khūjah, 32–33.

103. British Library, Add. MSS 61542, 124, December 1706.

104. Hamruni, 1993, 3:62–73.

105. Kahle, 19.

106. *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, 2:79–84.

107. As the French traveler/diplomat Louis Laurent d'Arvieux wrote, many comedies and tragedies were shown in the city of Izmir. Some Turks, with their families, attended these plays, but sat in a separate and unseen corner; *Mémoires*, 1735, 6:48–49.

108. Wilkins, Bv.

109. Saldanha, 152.

110. See for instance the letter by the English consul in Algiers on December 12, 1702: "I have informed the Dey of the great success of Her Majesties forces off Viga and have celebrated the same Publickly"; SP 71/4/109.

111. Muir and Ruggiero, x.

112. For the branding of Muslims, see Julien, 2:280.

113. Spivak, 283.

114. SP 71/15/137. An example of one of the never-corrected mistakes in translation was the opening of the letters sent from Moroccan rulers to England. The openings always included the Qur'anic verse: "As-salam ʿala man ittabʿa al-huda,"/ Peace on him who follows the guidance (of God) 47:20. For some strange reason, it was always translated "Peace to the follower of Judah."

115. At one point, they became especially concerned about the translator in Toulon, since he was a little boy, "La Magdeleine"; Plantet, *Deys d'Alger*, 1:358 (October 29, 1691).

I. Popular Sources: Accounts of Muslim Captivity in Christendom

1. Untitled poem by Sīdi Muhammad al-Qawji al-Jaza'iri, quoted in al-Madani, 438–439.

2. Muslim visitors to Iberia would also have seen the *saco bendito*/sanbenito, worn by condemned Moriscos, with one or two crosses painted on it.

3. Todorov, 107–108.

4. *Rasaʾil Saʿdiyah*, 146.

5. Ibid., 174.

6. Matar, *In the Lands*, 2003, 33. The Turks also used the terms: see Inalcik with Quataert, 1:367. For a discussion of Ben-Abdela, see ch. 2 of this volume.

7. See the study by Cardaillac.

8. SP 71/1/404v, letter of Hajj Muhammad Dey to Admiral Allin, ca. late 1660s. The Algerian addresses Allin as "Great Lord under the Messias and most Protestant Prince."

9. Ibn Qasim, 107.

10. All references to al-Ghassani's travelogue are from my translation, *In the Lands*, 2003, 165. The term *haratiqa* had also been used in the Levant, in a letter of 1611 from the Maronite Patriarch in Mount Lebanon to Cosimo II in Florence; Dao, 3:181.

11. Castries, 1903, 7.

12. Al-Qadiri, *Nashr al-Mathani*, 2:144.

13. Al-Maqqari, *Rawdat al-Aas*, 21.

14. See the letter from Mulay Ismaʿil to King William, SP 102/4/102.

15. Al-Warithi, 143v and 155r.

16. In October 1689 the bey of Tunis wrote to a French official that the captive Muhammad ibn Shuqayr "n'est ni Algérien, ni Tripolitain, mais il est Tunisien"; Plantet, *Beys de Tunis*, 1:426. The Franco-Moroccan treaty that was negotiated in February 1699 specifically distinguished among the Algerian, the Tunisian, and the Tripolitanian—in both Arabic and French; Brissac, *Sources … France*

… *Filalienne*, 5: 81.

17. See one reference in *al-Jawahir al-Mukhtara*, 2:11, but there are many references to *harbi,* showing the difference between a Christian captive who is a "civilian" and another who is a soldier.

18. Balivet.

19. Tarif Khalidi shows the prevalence of the figure of Jesus in Islamic devotion, piety, and history from the beginning of the Islamic revelation until the fifteenth century, and from Arabia to Africa; *The Muslim Jesus*. The term "Lord" should be approached carefully, as it is also applied in Muslim devotion to the figures of Muhammad and Ibrahīm.

20. Al-Andalusi, *Al-Anwar al-Nabawiyah*, fol. 156.

21. *A letter in answer to divers Curious Questions*, 56.

22. Barkaï, 257–268; Harvey, 1989.

23. See de Epalza, 1987, ch. 3.

24. Bukhsibi, 137, 146.

25. All references are to the edition of Tamjruti's travelogue by al-Shadhili, 150–151.

26. Ibn Raysūn, fol. 390.

27. Cited in Barnaz, fol. 181r.

28. Al-Yūsi, *Al-Muhadarat*, 283–284. See other stories about Jesus in Abu Zayd al-Fasi, fol. 33; al-Slawi (d. 1729), fol. 10r.

29. Morgan, 1725, 229.

30. *Mercure Galant*, January 1682, 302. In the account about North Africa by Morgan, there is reference to "an excellent Spring, called by the Natives St. Augustine's Well"; Morgan, 1750, 107.

31. *Mercure Galant*, January 1682, 298. See also 302: "*Ils meslent mesme Cidy Naissa parmy leurs Saints*." They consider Sīdi ʿIsa among their saints.

32. Colonial Office documents at the National Archives, Kew (hereafter CO). CO 279/30/239.

33. Plantet, *Deys d'Alger*,1:231, 232.

34. *Mercure Galant*, August 1690, 220.

35. Plantet, *Deys d'Alger*, 1:524 (July 24, 1696).

36. Morgan, 1731, 187.

37. Al-Qadiri, *Nashr al-Mathani*, 3:348.

38. Al-Khiyari, 238.

39. Al-Qadiri, *Rihlat,* fol. 118r.

40. Barnaz, *Al-Shuhub al-Mukhriqa*, as quoted in Saadallah, 2:326.

41. Al-Sarraj, 3:182.

42. The Moriscos described Christians as "Pharaohs" and "dogs against Truth," "Pestiferous Cerebrus" and "eaters of pork"; translated in Chejne, 1983, 25. See also al-Maqqari's analogy between the *rūm*

and the dog: *Azhar al-Riyad*, 1:107. But as Bu Sharab explains, it was because the Portuguese used “dog” as a synonym for “Morisco” that the latter started calling the Portuguese “dogs”; “Al Jaliyah al-Mūriskiyah,” 368.

43. *Minhaj al-Sawab*, 82.

44. Al-Suktani, 280–283. It is interesting that this manuscript was copied in 1357 A.H. (1938), attesting to its continued usefulness.

45. British Library, Cotton MSS, Nero B XI, fol. 67.

46. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts … Venice, 1592–1603,* 9:555.

47. *Al-Nafhah al-Miskiyah*, 123.

48. Sghaier, 219–227. In Matteo Bandello’s *Le Novelle*, there is reference to a village outside Tunis, called Rabat, inhabited by “vieux soldats chrétiens qui, après d’anciennes expeditions faites par les nôtres, demeurè en Afrique”; quoted in Sebag, 55. But as Sebag notes, there is no external evidence to support this claim.

49. Al-Sarraj, 3:357; and the opening essay by Temimi, 1996, for other similar examples.

50. Ibn Raysūn, *Manaqib al-Alakhawayn*, fol. 380.

51. National Archives, Algiers, F.O. M. Sh, Boite 9/2 Acte no. 6, quoted by Loualich; Ogilby, 212.

52. Defotnin-Maxange, 294–295; Plantet, *Deys d’Alger*, 1:137.

53. Brissac, *Les Sources … Filalienne*, 5:461.

54. SP 71/15/117.

55. Morgan, 1750, 314, 359.

56. *Gazette de France*, March, 1705, 138.

57. See the rental lease of the monk Francesco Wardian (?) in *Awqaf Miknas*, 2:613–614.

58. Plantet, *Beys de Tunis*, 2:131.

59. For translations of, and studies on, captured Turks, see Kut, Schmucker, and Hitzel, 1998, 2001. See also M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, Tietze, and Kafadar, 1989.

60. See my discussion of this thesis in the context of England in the introduction to Matar, 2001.

61. The statement by Bernard Lewis that there were no captivity accounts is inaccurate; 1982, 90.

62. Such epithets were applied to captives throughout the Mediterranean basin and continued well into the nineteenth century: ʿAbdallah al-Quwatli was captured by Greek pirates from the coast of Beirut in 1826; after his return from captivity, he was known as “the Greek”; *al-Hayat*, July 21, 2004, 17.

63. Burns, 165.

64. Van Koningsveld, 6.

65. See Gibb, “Islamic Biographical Literature.”

66. See Corriente and Bouzineb, #256, 344. See also #853.

67. Al-Zayani, *Dalīl*, 163.

68. For a translation of the autobiographical part, and for an excellent study of the manuscript, see James.

69. Plantet, *Deys d'Alger*, 1:76. See also 1:517 (June 18, 1696) about letters from captives to their parents.

70. Castries, *Les Sources … Filalienne*, 1:693–695.

71. See the facsimile of the letter in Gines, following xiv.

72. Morgan, 1750, 253.

73. Plantet, *Beys de Tunis*, 2:107–108.

74. Ibid, 2:130.

75. Brissac, *Les Sources … Filalienne … France*, 6:371–373.

76. Grandchamp, *La France en Tunisie,* 8:269.

77. Plantet, *Deys d'Alger*, 2:48–53. For other examples of inter-Mediterranean cooperation over captives, see Grandchamp, 6:9, 12, 53, 54, 145, 189; 8:80, 135.

78. Pignon, 75.

79. Qara'li, 2:244.

80. Brissac, *Les Sources … Filalienne*, 5:174, April 21, 1699.

81. Quoted and translated in Weiss, 156.

82. Brissac, *Les Sources … Filalienne*, 5:508.

83. Vannan, 145–148.

84. Turjuman, 1983, 49.

85. *Documentos Arábigo-Granadinos*, 100.

86. Ibn al-Qadi, *Al-Muntaqa al-Maqsūr*, 1:346.

87. Castries, *Les Sources … d'Angleterre*, 2:100.

88. Ibn al-Qadi, *al-Muntaqa al-Maqsūr*, 1:346.

89. Shahbar, "Ta'ifat," 211–212.

90. Al-Sarraj, 2:429. Years after his death, Hussein ibn ʿAli of Tunis was still remembered for learning about captives among Christians and sending them oil for their prayer meetings and shrouds for their dead; Ibn Yusuf, 1:28.

91. Castries, *Les Sources … Filalienne … France*, 1: 691–92.

92. Ibn al-Qadi, *Al-Muntaqa al-Maqsūr*, 1:251.

93. Ibid., 1:352.

94. Quoted in Al-Maqqari, *Rawdat al-Aas*, 68.

95. Ibid, 69.

96. Ibn al-Qadi, *Al-Muntaqa al-Maqsūr*, 1:410.

97. Al-Fishtali, 154–155.

98. Ibid., 230–231.

99. Al-Qadiri, *Nashr al-Mathani*, 1:215–216: "And it is told that the Christians, may God destroy them, refused to have him ransomed out of their hands except for a very high price. They did that to spite the People of Islam, may God empower the Muslims and praise them. The

Muslims realized that he [Ibn al-Qadi] was a scholar among the Muslims, and so, al-Mansur deceived them and ransomed him for the aforementioned sum of money, and indeed, gave them more. May God reward him with good."

100. *Al-Rawd al-ʿAtir*, 277.

101. Al-Fasi, *Rawdat al-Mahasin*, fol. 27.

102. Hitzel, 1998, 29. The account describes the captivity of a soldier in the region between Serbia and Austria between 1688 and 1699.

103. Al-Sarraj, 2:413.

104. Ibn al-Qadi, *Al-Muntaqa al-Maqsūr*, 1:81, n.

105. The maps were reproduced by Assemani, the last unit.

106. Al-Sarraj, 2:356.

107. Ibn Ghalbūn, 144–145; Ghanim, "Taqrīr," 269.

108. Al-Zayani, *al-Tarjumanah al-Kubra*, 301.

109. *Al-Jawahir al-Mukhtara*, 2:1–74 passim.

110. Van Koningsveld and Wiegers.

111. *Al-Jaza'iri*, 203 and 207.

112. Quoted in al-Madani, 438–439.

113. Al-Zayani, cited in Belhamissi, 1981, 188.

114. Al-Ghassani, *Rihlat al-Wazīr,* fol. 2r.

115. Wansharīsi, *Al-Miʿyar*, 9:253.

116. Ibn ʿAskar, 85. See the translation of some of the text by Weir.

117. Bu Sharab, *Magharibah fī al-Burtughal*, 109.

118. Fakūn, 200.

119. Panella, 79.

120. Al-Kinani, 35–36.

121. SP 71/16/577.

122. Braithwaite, 237.

123. Al-Fasi, *Mumtiʿal-Asma*', 64.

124. Ibid., 86–87.

125. Ibn Qasim, 147.

126. See the discussion by Knutson, 94.

127. Al-Malibari, 109.

128. Tawwah, 56; see also 85.

129. Al-Qadiri, *Nashr al-Mathani*, 1:131.

130. Ibid., 1:91.

131. In Malta, the ransom price for a healthy Muslim was 300 livres in 1664, which rose to 350 in 1677 and reached 450 by 1716; Mathiex, 160–161.

132. For a good discussion of the political role of the *murabit*, see Burke, "Morocco and the Near East."

133. Ibn Maryam, 112.

134. *Fawaid al jamma* , 21.

135. *Ibithaj al-Qulūb*, fol. 35.

136. Al-Qadiri, *Kitab al-Maqsad al-Ahmad*, 215.

137. Ibn ʿAyshūn, 315.

138. Al-Zayani, *Al-Bustan al-Zarīf*, 186.

139. See the reference to such forced conversion and marriage in al-Malibari, 88, and the numerous examples in Bu Sharab, *Magharibah fī al-Burtughal*, ch. 4.

140. Bu Sharab, *Magharibah fī al-Burtughal*, 29.

141. “Poem on the Fall of Asila,” in al-Bukhsibi, 146–147.

142. Al-Fishtali, 197.

143. Ibn Muhammad Al-Khabar, n.p.

144. *Torres,* ch. 21.

145. According to the Madrid records, between 1650 and 1700, the number of Moroccan captive women was nearly as high as that of men: 225 and 249, respectively; Larquié, “Captifs Chrétiens et Esclaves Musulmans au XVIIe Siècle,” 393.

146. De Cottenberg, 76–169.

147. Al-Andalusi, *Tuhfat al-Ikhwan*, fol. 391.

148. Al-Zayani, *Dalīl al-Hayran*, 150–151.

149. Ibn ʿAskar, 29.

150. Maqdīsh, 2:345.

151. Quoted in Pignon, 71.

152. Bu Sharab, *Magharibah fī al-Burtughal*, ch. 4.

153. Verlinden, ch. 2.

154. Hasleton, 171.

155. Al-Sarraj, 2:470–471.

156. Quoted in Weiss, 59–60.

157. Elliot, 12.

158. See the English translation of his account; Marott, 1677.

159. SP 71/16/f.635.

160. Crisp/Marsh, 80.

161. Quartier, ch. 10. See the discussion by Turbet-Delof, “Un morisque andalou,” in Zbiss, Slimane Mostafa et al., and “Le père mercedaire Antoine Quartier.”

162. Sadok, *La Régence*, 140. See also 43: “Le cosmopolitisme de Tunis est une conséquence de la course tunisienne.”

163. Koehler, 184.

164. “La présence de ces ethnies étrangères,” noted Abd al Hakim Slama accurately, “contribua à imprégner la vie de la Régence par des attitudes européennes”; 501.

165. Shukri, 130–131. ʿ*Ilj* is a derogatory term that means “lout,” “infidel,” or “ruffian.” The plural is *a*ʿ*laj* or ʿ*ulūj*.

166. Boyer, “Les Renégats,” 99; and see Dziubinski.

167. Colin, *Tarikh*, 66.

168. The information below derives from five Inquisition records, edited and translated by Shukri.

169. Ibid., 239.

170. Ibid., 19.

171. Quoted in Mezzine, 547.

172. Castries, *Les Sources … Pays-Bas*, 4: 122–123.

173. *Gazette de France*, April 8, 1646, 292.

174. "The King of Tunis's eldest son came over to Sicily and was baptised and became Christian. From thence to Rome, where the Jesuits have engaged him, taking him into their tuition"; Juxon, 140.

175. *Gazette de France*, September 25, 1646, 985.

176. Ibid., October 7, 1646, 1046.

177. D'Arvieux, *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Arvieux*, 1994, 62–68.

178. Bakker, 65.

179. Ibn Yūsuf, 1:43.

180. See Meade; "Autobiography of Omar ibn Said"; "The History of Abo Becr Sadika"; and Griffin.

181. Ibn Abi Diyaf, 2:52.

II. Elite Sources: Muslim Ambassadors in Christendom

1. Cenival, *Les Sources … Filalienne*, 4:175 n.

2. Wiegers, "Al-Andalusi Heritage."

3. By the eighteenth century, there were numerous travelers from India to Europe; for the most comprehensive study, see Fisher.

4. As reported in *Mercure Galant*, January 1682, 332. For a survey of his journey to Paris, see Penz, 115–125.

5. See translations in Matar, *In the Lands*, 2003.

6. British Library, Add. MSS 61542, 130v.

7. Ibid., 132, October 1, 1706.

8. For a survey of Moroccan ambassadors from the seventeenth until the twentieth centuries, see J. Caillé, 1960 and 1963; also Qaddūri, 2000. See also Matar, 2006, on al-Miknasi.

9. *The Hawkins*' *Voyages*, 401. An exception is the Persian ambassador, who converted to Christianity, became known as Don Juan, and started a diary as soon as he left Persia with the intent of recording his description of the journey and of the Christian world "in order later to publish [it] in Persia"; *Don Juan of Persia*, 294.

10. Plantet, *Beys de Tunis*, 1:13.

11. Castries, *Les Sources … Pays-Bas*, 6:608.

12. *Mercure Galant*, May 1699, 218.

13. Plantet, *Deys d'Alger*, 2:57.

14. Morgan, 1732, 138.

15. Al-Miknasi, *Al-Iksīr*, 143, 144.

16. Göçek, 14–15.

17. Al-Fishtali, 207.

18. García-Arenal et al., *Cartas Marruecas*, 352.

19. Ibid., 371.

20. See the translation in Matar, *In the Lands*, 2003, 39–41.

21. Castries, *Les Sources … D'Angleterre*, 1:202.

22. Loupias and Berthier.

23. Earlier Arabic-speaking Muslim officials were also conversant with European languages. In 1506 Taghribaradi, the chief translator in the court of the last Mamluk king, Qansu al-Ghouri, traveled to Venice and spent just under a year there. The Italian diarist Marino Sanuto noted that the ambassador, being fluent in Latin and Italian, took part in numerous activities, including a musical performance at the church of Santa Maria delle Virgini [*sic*] and a wedding in San Trovaso; Alkhadem, 258–266.

24. British Library, Cotton MSS, Nero B XI, fol. 70.

25. Zaydan also had an Irish captive, Anthony, who translated material from Latin to Spanish, after which it was translated to Arabic; Al-Manūni, 1977, 77.

26. García-Arenal et al., *Cartas Marruecas*, 276.

27. J. R. Jones, 100.

28. For the importance of titles in the history of Islamic communication, see the comments on al-Qalqashandi in Sartain, 87–91.

29. *Rasaʾil Saʿdiyah*, 74.

30. After the invasion of Sudan in 1591, the chronicler al-Fattash recalled that at one point the Moroccan military commander had given his orders in Spanish; Al-Timbukti, 163–164.

31. SP 71/2/265 (August 25, 1677).

32. CO 279/31/57v.

33. *Relation de la captivité du Sr. Moütte*, 12 and preface.

34. SP 102/4/122.

35. *The Adventures of (Mr. T.S.)*, 68.

36. SP 71/16/240r.

37. Page references are to the edition cited earlier, by ʿAbd al-Latīf al-Shadhili.

38. For a study of this travelogue from the perspective of sea literature, see Chtioui.

39. *The Fugger News-Letters,* Second Series, 213–214.

40. Garrad.

41. Prescott, 3:280.

42. Quoted from Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tīb* by Qaddūri, 1995, 14 n. 3.

43. Ibn Qasim, 73.

44. Ibid., 92.

45. *Nafh al-Tīb*, 1:186–190. A century earlier, the influential jurist al-Wansharīsi had issued a fatwa in which preference was made for jihad over pilgrimage; *Miʿyar al-Muʿrib*, 1:432–433.

46. Ibn Qasim, 116,

47. Michel, 2:92.

48. A century earlier, an Andalusian wrote how he was compelled into the “lands of the Christians.” So he learned their “language and read their books, and investigated the foundations of their religion.” When the Christians “hastened” to dispute with him, both in his own house and in the royal court, they were defeated; quoted in Manūni, 1979, 220–221.

49. Matar, *In the Lands*, 2003, 32.

50. Ibid., 33.

51. Scholars differ on whether he had accompanied the prince during the exile or not. See the introduction to Rustum and al-Bustani.

52. Rustum and al-Bustani, 3.

53. Ibid., 231.

54. Ibid., 208.

55. For studies on the *rihla*, see Beckingham; Netton, *Seek Knowledge*, “Section Two” on Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Battuta; Hadj-Sadok; and I. Krachkovskii.

56. Al-Hasan al-Shahidi cites al-Maqqari that 307 travelers went from al-Andalus and the Maghrib to the Mashriq, but only 86 from the Mashriq to the Maghrib; 1:81.

57. Which is why one Web site describes him as a “tolerant Europeanized Druze”; http://www.ain-zhalta.com/history.asp.

58. Rustum and al-Bustani, 3.

59. Van Leeuwen, ch. 4, sec. 2.

60. The information below is drawn from Carali, and Dao, 4:225–265.

61. See the list in Carali, 1:256–257. The title *hajj* was applied also to Christians who visited the holy sites in Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine.

62. Chehab, 117.

63. Raʿd, 44. See the letter, 169, May 14, 1614.

64. Qara’li, *Fakhr al*-Dīn *al-Maʿni al-Thani*, 2:192.

65. Rustum and al-Bustani, 219.

66. Qara’li, 2:198.

67. Ibid., 2:232.

68. Greene, 241. See also *Expédition du Grand-Duc de Toscane Contre Bône* (1607). In the following year the knights captured around 700 pilgrims from Mecca to Istanbul via Alexandria and led them to slavery in Leghorn; Wustenfeld, 153.

69. Fakhr al-Dīn left Italy six years before the completion (in 1624) of the official statue of Ferdinand, showing him leading the Christian crusade against the infidels. Four Moors are shown in chains at the base of the statue—the same Moorish slaves who had dug the foundation of the breakwater in the city and ensured Leghorn's safety.

70. Rustum and al-Bustani, 230.

71. See Carali, 2:290–298, the chapter on trade between Lebanon and Tuscany in 1629–1630.

72. See Qaddūri, 1995.

73. Note his positive tone in describing the Christian holy sites of Palestine; Ibn Zenbel, 162v–163r.

74. See a full discussion of Ibn Zenbel and al-Ghassani in Matar, 2008. See also Matar, 2006, for another contrast between Euro-Christian regions.

75. "A Congratulatory Poem."

76. *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission*, 405.

77. *Mercure Galant*, June 1704, 246.

78. Ibid., 234.

79. SP 71/22/137.

80. The Libyan ambassador to London in 1715 hired "one Dr. Mattias Phrygenins for [his] Secretary, and John Corver for [his] Clerk" along with "Elias Haskett" as a "Domestick"; SP 71/22/Part III, 87r and 95r, September 26, 1715.

81. British Library, Add. MSS 61542, 19, 12/23 March 1707.

82. British Library, Add. MSS 61536, 44 (about the Moroccan ambassador, Cardenas, May 19, 1707).

83. British Library, Add. MSS 61542, 65v.

84. Ibid., 113 (May 25, 1710).

85. Zari had numerous servants and assistants: on March 23, 1711, he changed some of them (SP 71/15/280); on June 2, 1711, one of them claimed diplomatic immunity from creditors (SP 34/31/20); and on May 29, 1712, Richard Beavis was hired as secretary (SP 71/29/21).

86. *Rihlat al-Wazīr*, fol.3r. For a brief biography written in the eighteenth century, see al-Qadiri, *Nashr al-Mathani*, 3:173–174.

87. *Rihlat al-Wazīr*, fol. 68r.

88. There has been some confusion about his name, which al-Tazi set right in his article.

89. CO 279/28/341r–v.

90. CO 279/31/57r.

91. Morgan, *Mahometism Explained*, "Some Remarks," xvii.

92. Ben-Abdala, 136.

93. For a brief discussion of this treatise, see Wiegers, "Learned Moriscos and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands, 1609–1624."

94. *The Historical and Critical Reflections upon Mahometanism and Socinianism*, 185 n.

95. Ben-Abdala, 16.

96. Ibid., 19–21.

97. Ibid., 50.

98. Ibid., 71.

99. Ibid., 95.

100. Ibid., 100.

101. Ibid., 107–108.

102. *Mercure Galant*, January 1682, 333–334.

103. *Gazette*, July 1, 1684, 386 mistakenly paginated 586; *Mercure Galant*, June 1684, 326.

104. *Gazette*, July 15, 1684, 444.

105. *Gazette*, July 22, 1684, 456.

106. *Mercure Galant*, June 1684, 321.

107. In 1701 an anonymous writer complained that the Moroccan ambassador had already spent fifteen months in England; *A Letter from a Gentleman* (1701), 7.

108. Among the popular items for sale in North Africa and presumably the Ottoman Levant were portraits of European men and women, which may well have included portraits of monarchs. See the description of the mart in Tunis in the first act of Philip Massinger’s *The Renegado* (1624).

109. *Mercure Galant*, February 1682, 307–308.

110. SP 71/15/222.

111. *Mercure Galant*, July 1704, 157.

112. Matar, *In the Lands*, 2003, 139–140.

113. Plantet, *Beys de Tunis*, 1:85.

114. Ibid., 1:150.

115. Ibid., 1:151 n. 1.

116. *Gazette*, March 1685, 156.

117. Plantet, *Deys d’Alger*, 1:98 n. 1.

118. *Gazette*, April 1696, 239.

119. *Gazette*, May 1701, 270–271.

120. *Mercure Galant*, June 1704, 231.

121. When al-Ghassani was about to leave, he met with the Spanish king, who gave him a Turkish girl, a few very beautiful Muslim captives, two bears, four dogs, and four gazelles. Although dogs were viewed by Muslims as unclean animals, potentates were ever eager to acquire hunting dogs, the best of which were bred by the English. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Mulay Ismaʿil became interested in animals from England, chiefly gazelles and dogs. In August 1718, he was delighted to receive “four bear-dogs” from Admiral George Byng; SP 71/16/566, August 11, 1718.

122. *Gazette*, October 1691, 619.

123. Castries, *Les Sources … Angleterre*, 2:168–169.

124. Plantet, *Beys de Tunis*, 1:101–102.

125. SP 71/15/161, 163.

126. Plantet, *Deys d'Alger*, 1:128, 133.

127. *Mercure Galant*, June 1704, 226–229.

128. Ibid., 147.

129. Ibid., 248. The consul "had promised him his daughter during the time he was in Tripoli, where she had lived between the ages of two till eight. Mr. de Pontchartrain showed many favors to this lady, and the duke, who was present, told the [Libyan] messenger that he was right to support his request, and the lady deserved it, being beautiful, attractive, and spirited."

130. Burnet, 444.

131. *C.S.P.D. January 1st to December 31st, 1682*, 134.

132. ADM 77/2/#10.

133. Reeland, 76.

134. *Mercure Galant*, June 1704, 158.

135. SP 102/4/111.

136. Matar, 2001, 205.

137. CO 279/30/240r.

138. Actually, as John Evelyn noted, the king received the Moroccan ambassador with much more interest than the Russian and the "Bantam" ambassadors; *Diary*, November 24, 1681, and June 19, 1682.

139. SP 102/4/110.

140. CO 279/30/255 v.

141. Leslie, "An Epistle Dedicatory," 1:207–211.

142. See the discussion of this treatise in Matar, 1999, 134–135.

143. *Mercure Galant*, August 14, 1690, 226–227: "With great displeasure about the cowardice and treasonous pursuits of his enemies with which a great number of his [James II's] subjects became corrupted. They forgot that the kings are the shadow of divinity. They fell into evil which marks their foreheads with an eternal opprobrium regarding your majesty. It is very obvious that the wars that the almighty and ever invincible Emperor of France and your majesty undertook are part of the vengeance that God wants to take on these numerous rebels, and on those usurpers whose impious cults corrupted the holy doctrine of the divine books. We hope that your majesty will soon be able to make the justice of his cause triumph, by reassuming the throne of his ancestors, and shining like the sun at the center of glory."

144. Grosrichard, introduction by Mladen Dolar, ix–xxvii.

145. Said, *Orientalism*, 190.

146. Spon, 1:181. It is no wonder that Thomas Neale warned his compatriots that when they traveled, they should polish their humors "with the rasor of a mild and well qualified temper, that a man may Converse with forreigners, without shame to his Countreymen or offence to strangers"; 21.

147. For a survey of the fantasy, see Kahf. I have not found any evidence of sexual affairs between Euro-Christians and Muslims *on Muslim soil*. However, in March 1703, the Tunisian bey demanded that the "Turkish women" who had been in the French *funduk*, in the quarters of Sieur Constant Boyer, be handed over to him, along with the Frenchman; Plantet, *Beys de Tunis*, 2:23. The claims made by the English captive T.S. about his sexual activities are highly questionable; *Adventures*, 205–223. See the discussion of T.S. in MacLean, pt. 3.

148. El Cheikh, 123–129.

149. Said, "Scholars, Media, and the Middle East," 294.

150. SP 71/4/51, September 2, 1701.

151. See Al-Mansuri, 72 ff., for a listing and a discussion of the use of the verb *harrama* in the Qur'an.

152. From a letter by al-Mansur in 1587, British Library, Burney 367, fol. 199; Benveniste, 243. See also p. 245, where *domus* is "a family, social and moral notion, but never a material one." No suggestion is being made here for a link between Latin and Arabic.

153. Matar, *In the Lands*, 2003, 14–15.

154. Ibid., 15.

155. Ibid., 15–16.

156. Al-Wallali, 180. *Ajnabiyyat* means women who are outside the family circle.

157. Rddad, 43.

158. Nucius, 10. A century and a half later, the Indian visitor Mirza Itesa Modeen also noted how English women in the bazaar smiled at him, saying: "'Come, my dear, and kiss me'"; *Travels*, 51.

159. It is striking how Shakespeare's depiction of Othello's restraint and Desdemona's forwardness was a reversal of the classic image in Continental drama of sexually voracious "Mahometans" and chaste, unresponsive Christian women. Just over twenty years before, Cervantes had declared through the figure of Zahara, a Moorish woman, that "Moorish men love Christian women, but Christian women do not/will not love Moorish men"; *Los Baños de Argel*, in *Obras Completas*, 291.

160. British Library, East India Company Court Minutes, B/11, 451 and 470.

161. Hitzel, *Osmân Agha de Temechvar*, 105–106.

162. British Library, Add. MSS 61542, 148.

163. See the account of this affair in Herbette.

164. *Mercure Galant*, February 1682, 298.

165. *Mercure Galant*, January 1682, 329.

166. *Diary*, 4:268.

167. Quoted in the *Sunday Times*, October 14, 2001, 20.

168. Vickers, 2:29.

169. The painting is reproduced on the cover of Matar, *In the Lands*, 2003.

170. *Tangier's Lamentation*, 3:475.

171. Matar, *In the Lands*, 2003, 134.

172. See the translation of the complete letter in Matar, *In the Lands*, 2003, 201–202.

173. Brissac, *Les Sources … Filalienne*, 5:336: "A woman at the [residence] of Madame Countess of Maurepa, having asked him what he thought about seeing women and girls in France mixing with men and with their faces uncovered, he replied that women being virtuous and men being perfect, they made a mix of musk and amber, which could only render a beautiful scent."

174. Ibid., 5:328.

175. Ibid., 5:344.

176. Ibid., 6:186.

177. Yapp, 149.

178. British Library, Add. MSS 61542, 65.

179. Ibid., 117.

180. Ibid., 119.

181. Castries, *Les Sources … Angleterre*, 2:108.

182. *Rasaʿil Saʾdiyah*, 191.

183. *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, 2:17.

184. Castries, *Les Sources … Pays-Bas*, 1:356; 1:369; *Les Sources … Angleterre*, 2:427. See the excellent study of Pallache by García-Arenal and Wiegers.

185. Castries, *Les Sources … Pays-Bas*, 1:309–528, passim.

186. Ibid., 3:106.

187. Ibid., 3:563.

188. See my study of Bentura in "The Last Moors," 2003.

189. PROB 32/60/23: September 28, 1716, signed by Davidis Chiriaco.

190. Defoe, 76, 82.

191. Maqdīsh, 2:216.

Conclusion

1. Quoted in Castries, *Moulay Ismail et Jaques II*, 62, n. 2.
2. *Dialogues Français*, British Library, MS C 153 A4, fol. 116v.

3. Ibid., 35v.

4. Ibid., 36v.

5. *Dialogues Français*, Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Arabic SM 321 (586).

6. I am borrowing those three categories from Khalidi, 1981, 277.

7. "The Decline of Spain."

8. Kafadar, 1997–1998.

9. Stripling, 105. A term that has been used in Arabic is *ta'akhkhur*, translated as "decline," although it also suggests delay; Arslan.

10. Glick and Pi-Sunyer, 139.

11. Veinstein, 126. The Arabic terms were used by the Turkish author.

12. See the survey in Howard.

13. See his *The Balance of Truth.*

14. For discussion of this theme of Ottoman decline, see Lewis, 1962; Ziyadah, 1981; Fleischer, 1983; Kafadar, 1997–1998.

15. See chapter 11 in Elliott.

16. See Matar, 2007, 256–266.

17. *Mercure Galant*, June 1704, 141.

18. Ibn ʿUmar, 210v–211r.

19. *N**u**bdhat al-ʿAsr*, 5–6.

20. *Nafh al-Tīb*. See the discussion of al-Maliqi and al-Maqqari in al-ʿAzmeh, 1998, 1:389–410.

21. *Asna' al-Matajir.*

22. Quoted in ʿInan, 1958, 398.

23. Matar, *In the Lands*, 2003, 56–57.

24. On the five-hundredth anniversary of the expulsion of 1492, however, al-Ghanimi described the loss of al-Andalus as the "tragedy of paradise lost"; *Kayf daʿal-Islam.*.

25. Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tīb*, 1:114.

26. Ibid., 4:528–529.

27. Ibn Abi Dinar, 194–195. See also Glick, 1995, 113–117. For the impact of the Moriscos on North Africa, see Razzūq, 1989, 263 ff.; and de Epalza, "Moriscos et Andalous en Tunisie au XVIIe Siècle," 1973, esp. 155–161.

28. SʿaidūnĪ, 1981, 118.

29. Landa, 201–211.

30. Asín, 1933, 413; see also Jerome Bruce Weiner: "Every European who discussed their beliefs with them came away with the impression that the Moriscos still felt more Christian than Muslim"; 211.

31. Sometimes there are references to him as Ibrahīm ibn Ghanim al-Rabbash; see Mansur, 27.

32. For an excellent study of this manuscript and a translation of its

opening unit, see James, "The 'Manual.'"

33. Ibid., 240 nn. 15 and 41.

34. I have consulted three of the existing manuscripts of this text: Tunis National Library, MS 1407; Rabat National Library, MS Jīm, 87; and Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS Qr 4107. The last was copied by the author's son. Unless otherwise indicated, all references are to the Chester Beatty Library manuscript. The phrase occurs on 120r. The pagination, however, is very irregular.

35. Ibid., 117v.

36. See for instance, 59r and 61r.

37. Mentioned by De Henin, 81.

38. Chester Beatty MS, 10v.

39. Ibid., 11r.

40. Ibid., 23r.

41. Ibid., 24r.

42. Ibid., 75r.

43. Ibid., 50v.

44. Ibid., 59r.

45. Ibid., 12r.

46. Ibid., 6r–v.

47. Ibid., 75r.

48. Rabat National Library MS, 233.

49. Chester Beatty MS, 23r.

50. Rabat National Library MS, 246.

51. Chester Beatty MS, 121r–v.

52. Rabat National Library MS, 254. It is surprising that neither Ibn Ghanim nor Ibn Qasim seemed to be familiar with the Arabic edition of the New Testament (*Evangelium Sanctum Domini nostri,* published in Rome 1590/1591) nor with Thomas Erpenius's Arabic version of the Pentateuch (*Pentateuchus Mosis Arabice*, 1622).

53. Rabat National Library MS, 247.

54. James, 257.

55. Ibn Hamadūsh, *Rihlat*, 253–255.

56. See the interesting article on the isolation/*inʿizal* of the Moriscos in Qaddūri, 2001.

57. See Marx, who traces the beginning of a religiously defined nationalism to the expulsions from Spain of 1492; see also for Britain, Colley, 1992.

58. See Matar, 1999 and 1991.

59. Goffman, 54.

60. Lewis, 1992, 377.

61. Spence, chapter 3.

62. See Kate Lowe's reference to the proposal of marriage between the sister of King Alfonso V and the Ethiopian Emperor,

Ishaq, in 1428, at the same time that another marriage, involving a male Portuguese and a female Ethiopian, would take place; 9. These marriages, however, were between Christians.

63. *Mercure Galant*, February 1699, 241. See the study of the ambassador's journey in Plantet, 1912.

64. Hourani, 135.

65. Bulliet, 43.

Translations

1. Chejne, 1969, 80–84.

2. Venuti, 11.

3. In *Ibtihaj al-Qulūb*, Abu Zayd al-Fasi stated that Radwan's father was a convert to Islam and his mother a Muslim; 84. In an anonymous *Sharh al-Qasīda al-Munfarija*, the following story is told: The father of Radwan had gone to church, where he found his neighbor's horse inside. So he took it back to its owner. When he returned to the church, he found people collecting the droppings of the horse for blessing, saying that Jesus must have been in the church and the droppings were his horse's. Angry at such credulousness, he left his city and wandered around the Mediterranean. He married the first Muslim woman he met (although the author had heard that she was Jewish) and settled down in Dar al-Islam; 281. The story appears in more detail in Ibn Ayshūn, 168–169.

4. See the helpful study by Bushantūf, 29–52.

5. On the other hand, Ibn al-Qadi, in *Al-Muntaqa al-Maqsūr*, claimed that al-Mansur had actually ransomed the Muslims; 1:446. But then, Ibn al-Qadi's whole tome was to praise his ruler.

6. According to al-Maqqari, quoted in Nasir al-Dīn Sʿaidūni, 1999, 362.

7. For a detailed study of this and the other letter by Fishtali (translation #4), see my article "Queen Elizabeth I Through Moroccan Eyes," 2008.

8. See the discussion of this term in De Castries, 1903, 9 n. 3.

9. For further studies on Elizabethan England and Morocco, see Smith, ch. 7 and Yahya, ch. 8.

10. *The Fugger News-Letters*, 172.

11. There are two spellings/pronunciations of the name: either Tamjruti or Tamghruti. Both derive from the name of the village. I have chosen the former, as was suggested by Ibn Sūda, 411. I wish to thank Daniel Newman for this information.

12. The Spaniards were in possession of the island near Badis, the Peñon, which they had occupied in 1564.

13. Occupied by the Spaniards in 1497.

14. The city had been captured by the Spaniards in 1531 and liberated in 1534. Prior to that, it had been an important port.

15. Charles V led an attack on Tunis in 1535 and set up a Hafside governor.

16. The commander of the campaign was Sinan Pasha, sent in May 1574 by Sultan Selim II (1566–1574).

17. The word means a Sufi center as well as a place where horses are tethered, suggesting a military outpost. In Morocco, the Sufis were often involved in repulsing invaders.

18. Hasan Veneziano, a Venetian convert who ruled from 1577 to 1580 and 1582 to 1587. Ifrīqiyah was the Arabic name for Tunisia and part of Libya.

19. Yahya al-Suweydi rose against the Turks in Libya in 1585 and was killed in 1588. He was succeeded by another leader, against whom the Turkish fleet was sent. For an account of this history, see Morgan, 1731, 598–599. It is interesting that Morgan also mentions "sixty Gallies."

20. See Ben Hadda for a discussion of al-Tamjruti's description of the city.

21. Actually, his son Constance, and finished in A.D. 563.

22. Actually the statue is of the emperor Justinian.

23. Tamjruti is quoting here a line of poetry that appears in Ibn al-Wardi (d. 1349), Ibn Farkoun (d. 1417), and others. I owe this reference to Dr. Mohammad Asfour.

24. Reg. 1520–1566; the mosque was built between 1550 and 1566.

25. Tamjruti uses *masjid* and *jami'*: the former is smaller and does not have a Friday preacher; the latter is larger and has the communal *khotba*/sermon on Friday.

26. When al-Fishtali visited Istanbul and wrote about it, he mentioned the "Christian neighbourhoods … and the *kenīs*/knesets of the Jews. The alleys of the Christians cannot be counted or numbered"; *Nuskhat Kitab warada min Madinat Istanbul*, 419.

27. See the account published in Hakluyt, 4:236–268.

28. Wernham, 108.

29. Arab and Ottoman writers referred to the Protestant movement in Europe by the name of its founder. As long as they were in conflict with Spain, Muslims viewed the Lutherans as their allies, whether in Holland (Calvinists), France (Huguenots), or England (Anglicans). See Hess, 1968, 19–21 and notes.

30. The ships *St. Philip*, *St. Thomas*, and *St. Juan*, were destroyed, but the *St. Matthew* and the *St. Andrew* were taken to England; Castries, *Les Sources … Angleterre*, 2:121.

31. The precise sum was 120,000 ducats.

32. A useful new edition by Wisam Wahīb relies heavily on the Rustum-al-Bustani edition.

33. Rather, they are emblems and badges of wealthy families of Florence.

34. After the short visit to Florence, he stayed in Leghorn until May 1614.

35. Possibly a coin.

36. Palazzo Medici Riccardi.

37. Ferdinand, who had become grand duke in 1588, had sponsored an Arabic press (admittedly for conversionist purposes) in Rome in 1584. It had been housed in his Villa Medici. Although the press was dismantled in 1614, the legacy of Ferdinand continued in Florence as Fakhr al-Dīn described the printing process that he personally witnessed.

38. Coinage derived from the name of the shah.

39. The first Rome edition in Arabic appeared in 1593.

40. See the discussion of the difference between *abīd* and *asara* in Matar, 2005, ch. 4.

41. The information is derived from Abdesselem, 149–153.

42. Al-Andalusi, *Kitab al-Anwar al-Nabawiyah*, 241. See the translation of the concluding unit in translation #9.

43. A friend of Yusuf Dey's.

44. Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad Sasi taught at the Zaytūni Mosque in Tunis and later became judge.

45. Nasiri coins, equivalent to 1/32 of a dinar.

46. I wish to thank my former colleague at the Florida Institute of Technology, Dr. Jane Tolbert, for introducing me to d'Arcos and sharing with me her vast collection of material by and about him. I am indebted to her article, in preparation, "Peiresc and Arcos: Identity and Apostasy."

47. Peiresc, 2:7.

48. Ibid., 2:15.

49. Ibid., 2:46 n.

50. Ibid., 2:43.

51. The manuscript has not survived, although it seems to have been known then. The information about it suggests a possible imitation of Leo Africanus's survey of the region: "un ouvrage que sera grandement bien reçu … contenant une relation fort exacte de la plus part tant de l'Aegypte que de tout le reste de l'Affrique"; quoted in Aufrère, 145.

52. He arrived in Paris in 1630, having already published a book on Syriac and Chaldean. He died in Italy in 1664.

53. A merchant from Marseilles who corresponded with Peiresc.

54. This phrase is not clear and could be a mistranscription of "de

differentiis utriusque juris," in which case it could be from Canisius's *Summa Iuris Canonici* (1600). I am grateful to Dr. Andrew Aberdein for his help.

55. Paulus Duran, *Tractatus de conditionibus et modis impossibilibus* (1612). The text was being widely read in the 1630s, as there were two other editions in 1638 and 1639.

56. Although I have consulted the manuscript of *al-Anwar al-Nabawiyya* (Rabat National Library, MS Kaf 1238), where the conclusion that I have translated starts on p. 319, I have decided to use the selection edited by A. Turki, since he compared the Rabat manuscript with a copy in the Tunis National Library.

57. As al-Maqqari in *Nafh al-Tīb* records, the Spanish forces set down sixty-seven agreements that they promised to follow before they entered Granada; 6:277–278.

58. He ascended the throne January 22, 1603.

59. As Turki shows, another manuscript of this text mentions the jurist Abu al-ʿAbbas Ahmad al-Hanafi as the man who went to meet the Ottoman sultan.

60. The *ansar* were the Yathribites who welcomed the Prophet Muhammad after his migration from Mecca to what became Medina in A.D. 622.

61. Actually, September 22, 1609.

62. See a translation and edition of the whole text by P. S. Van Koningsveld, Q. Al-Samarrai, and G. A. Wiegers (Madrid: al-Majlis al-Aʿla lil-Abhath al-ʿIlmiyya, 1997). This edition is excellent, but unfortunately is very difficult to find. See the translation of a selection in Matar, 2003.

63. The same authority states that also in Andalusia there is a river called Nahr-as-Sabt (the Saturday River), because it was possible to cross it only on a Saturday. http://persian.packhum.org/persian/index.jsp?serv=pf&file=16301012&ct=27.

64. As Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai, and Wiegers indicate, the reference is to the Portuguese traveler and author of *Realciones del origen, descendencia y succession de los Reyes de Persia* (Antwerp, 1610).

65. Another account of the battle of Tripoli described a deadly battle in which the Muslims lost more than six thousand dead and fifteen thousand captive, al-Hilati, 32 n. 88.

66. Clearly an exaggerated number.

67. The Ibadites are a denomination of Islam who adopted the teachings of ʿAbdallah ibn Ibad (end of the seventh century A.D.). They are found in Central North Africa (Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya) and in Oman. The Ibadites are still found in the island of Jarbah, where they have a beautiful mosque built in the shape of a fortification. Ibadiyya

appealed to the Berber communities as a way of resisting the centralization of Arab rule.

68. The word means “pupil” in a school, but also has Sufi connotation—the seeker.

69. The noun means “raid, incursion, attack.” It was the term used in Arab-Islamic historiography to describe the battles that the Prophet Muhammad waged against the pagans. The word was widely used in Ottoman history to describe attacks on Christian territory.

70. Reg. 1666–1672. He was the brother of Mulay Isma ʿil and founder of the ʿAlawite dynasty.

71. Clearly a convert, originally from Leghorn (Livorno).

72. I rely for my information about Ibn Abi Dinar on Abdesselem, 154–171.

73. An official whose duty was to root out bribery.

74. A Tunisian measure.

75. See Matar, 1999, ch. 2, for a discussion of John Ward/ Wardiyya. Christians were encouraged to join the Muslim fleet. In 1628 two galleys under Yusuf Dey included forty Christians who were serving as mercenaries (*Relation du voyage et prise de quatre galions du roi de Tunis en Barbarie faite par les galéres de Malte sous la charge et commandement du sr. Frère François de Crémeaux* [Paris, 1629]).

76. The school of jurisprudence followed by the Ottomans. The Maghariba follow the Maliki school.

77. From the word “Levantino,” which was used by Venetians to designate locals from Asia Minor and the Balkans who worked on their ships. These Levantines later became associated with the Ottoman fleet, and by the sixteenth century they were viewed as pirates. See http://basracity.net/pather/bbook/hawadthbag&bas/03.html.

78. There is some confusion here, as Usta Murad came to power in December 1637.

79. Possibly 37 grams for one *wiqiya*.

80. The same episode was described with much more detail and accuracy by Francis Knight: “The Venetian conformable to good intelligence, ordereth his Armatha, the Gallyasses were placed where the Turkes must pass, if they attempted it; and every night having their Frigats and Boats which came under the Castle walls, and to the very Prowes of the Gallies which so daunted the Turkes that they now utterly dissisted from their resolution of combate, and all amort are devising way to secure the Slaves, if the Venetian should land his Forces, and ayme to fetch them off by force: … at breake of day [the Venetian] commences a second battaile with thundering off great Ordnance, and vallies of small Shot … the Turke leaves their Gallies and runnes into the Castle, Christians they force to be Gunners, the

two Galliasses with 4. other smaller Gallies, batters that Castle whilest the others board the Turkish Gallies, lay their fasts to them, and roaes them away; thus Nobly did the Venetian end this fight in lesse than an houre, to their glory and the infamie of the Bareriscos … Ally now seekes all the coast, and recollects the greatest shot the Venetians had made against them, which he since presented to the great Turke, whom he intercedes for remuneration and revenge, urging a breach of peace … But three dayes after that fight he marched from Volloniea to Sellenico in Arcadia, leaving behind him onely fiftie eight Christians in great indisposition"; Knight, 24–25.

81. Sultan Murad IV died in 1640.

82. Al-Sarraj added, by citing an eyewitness account, that it had been the English, not the Maltese, who had attacked, and that they had shot more than fifteen thousand bombs; *al-Hulal al-Sundusiyah*, 397.

83. Cited in al-Sharrat, 66. The text lists the numerous attacks on the city since its first seizure.

84. Bono, 85.

85. Brissac, *Sources … Filalienne*, 6: 53–83.

86. Belhamissi, 1988, 43–44. As he continues, by 1720, 74 percent of slaves serving on papal ships were from North Africa.

87. SP 71/15/277–78.

88. For a study of de Zari, see my article "The Last Moors" (2003).

89. Castries, *Les Sources … Angleterre*, 2:490. See also Castries, *Sources … Pays-Bas*, 3:16–17, which mentions Israīl ibn Shallūha too.

90. Ibid., 3:12.

91. For a comprehensive study of the Pallache family, see García-Arenal and Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds*.

92. *Gazette* 1698, 299.

93. See the reference to his work, *Perah Lebanon* (Berlin, 1712), in Zafarani, 36.

94. *C.S.P.D. Anne, 1702–1703*, 1:610.

95. The scribe got the name wrong.

96. The use of "Quinquina" was still controversial, as the English diarist John Evelyn showed in the entry in his *Diary* on November 29, 1695.

97. For a history of interaction between Tunisian and French physicians, see Gallagher, ch. 1.

98. In another manuscript of this treatise, the words are "Kīna Kīna," noted by al-Qusantīni.

99. A word used to indicate the end of a quotation.

100. This could be a reference to story of the Countess of

Chinchón, for whom the *chinchona* plant, whose bark is the source of quinine, is supposed to be named.

101. Possibly one of the companions of the Prophet, d. 652.

102. ʿAbdallah ibn Omar, exegete, d. ca. 1282.

103. Jurist and linguist, 1075–1144.

104. Probably Fakhr al-Dīn, jurist, 1149–1209.

105. Al-Miknasi, *Al-Iksīr fī Iftikak al-Asīr*, Y (Arabic/Indian pagination of introduction).

106. A common saying suggesting peaceful calm.

107. Taken from al-Maqqari's *Nafh al-Tīb*.

108. The popular author of the *Maqamat*, who lived in Basrah between 1054 and 1122.

109. Al-Maqqari, *Nafhal-Tīb*, 1:40.

110. Pignon, 59–87.

111. I am grateful to Alex Baramki for drawing my attention to this book.

112. *Sayyid* (masculine)/*sayyida* (feminine) refers to a descendant of the Prophet's family. In her confusion, the writer used the male form.

113. What she means here is that she is a *sharīfa*, a descendant of the Prophet. *Lala* is a feminine form indicating a family link to the Prophet.

114. The tenth month in the *hijri* calendar.

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